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ABSTRACT

This proceedings contains 13 papers from the 1998 annual Faculty of Education conference at the University of Victoria, British Columbia (Canada). The papers are: (1) "Struggling with Re-Presentation, Voice, and Self in Narrative Research" (Marla Arvay); (2) "Women's Soccer in Canada: A Slow Road to Equity" (Meredith Bogle, Bruce Howe); (3) "Friendship: An Epistemological Frame for Narrative Inquiry" (Wendy Donawa); (4) "Human Diversity: Concepts and the Research Direction" (Lily Dyson, Lori McLeod, Leif Rasmussen); (5) "Pen Pals and the Writing Process: A Constructivist Exchange Writing about Writing" (Nancy L. Evans); (6) "Gender as a Moderator of the Relationship between Social Support and Adaptation among Asian International Students" (Janine J. Fernandes); (7) "A Biographical Exploration of School and Community" (Carol Harris); (8) "Teacher-Centered Projects: Confidence, Risk Taking and Flexible Thinking (Mathematics)" (Werner W. Liedtke); (9) "Bursting Bubbles: Who Knows and Who Speaks" (Antoinette Oberg, Pat Rasmussen); (10) "Coparticipation as Mode for Learning To Teach Science" (Wolff-Michael Roth, G. Michael Bowen, Nadely Boyd, Sylvie Boutonne); (11) "A Re-consideration of Spirituality and Education: Re-conceptualizing Spirituality" (Daniel Scott); (12) "Haida Gwaii Field School in Culture and Environmental Education, Queen Charlotte Islands" (Gloria Snively, John Corsiglia); and (13) "Humor and Cultural Perspectives" (Bill Zuk, Robert Dalton). (Contains references in most papers.) (SV)

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Connections '98

The papers in this volume were presented at the Faculty of Education Connections '98 Conference in May 1998. This conference has been held annually since 1995. Its purpose is to provide a forum for faculty and graduate students to share and discuss their research. The thirty-four presentations at Connections '98 represented all departments/schools in the Faculty of Education, as well as several colleagues from Okanagan University College. The papers that follow provide a cross section of these presentations and are arranged alphabetically by author.

Topics are diverse in both content and structure. We think they represent the tremendous variety of research activities within the Faculty of Education. The Connections Conference has a collaborative and collegial tone. In this spirit, these papers are offered for participants of Connections '98 and other interested readers.

Thanks are extended to all members of the organizing committee and presenters who offered their papers for publication.

Sandra Gibbons and John Anderson

January, 1999

Struggling with Re-Presentation, Voice and Self in Narrative Research

Marla Arvay

Issues of voice and re-presentation within our research texts and the self of the researcher are the focus of this brief paper. These topics have been drawn out of a narrative study on the impact of secondary traumatic stress upon trauma counsellors working with survivors of traumatic life events.

Ruth Behar (1996) offers a line from her book *The Vulnerable Observer* which I think summarizes the approach taken in a narrative study researching the impact of secondary traumatic stress among counsellors working in the field of trauma. She writes: "If you don't mind going places without a map, follow me."(p. 33). The purpose of this brief paper is to highlight some of the struggles encountered in doing narrative research. It is about going places without a traditional map. Specifically, I will address issues regarding re-presentation and voice in research texts, and the vulnerability of the researcher in studying the lives of those who experience tragic life events.

At the heart of this research project were struggles with issues concerning reflexivity. The definition of reflexivity is "a bending back on itself or oneself" (Webster's Dictionary, Revised Edition, 1996). Reflexivity has been described as a turning-back on one's experience upon oneself wherein the self to which this bending back refers is predicated and must also be understood as socially constructed (Steier, 1991). Steier (1991) states: "This folding back may unfold as a spiralling, if we allow for multiple perspectives, and acknowledge that the same self may be different as a result of its own self-pointing" (Steier, 1991, p. 3). It was through the continuous process of turning back onto myself that issues regarding re-presentation and voice emerged. Although there were many turning points in this narrative study, for the purpose of this paper I will explicate six lessons learned in my struggle with narrative research: (a) issues regarding the transcription process, (b) researcher privilege, (c) researcher self-disclosure, (d) researcher vulnerability, (e) issues regarding textual organization, and (f) struggling with voice in the research text.

Transcripts as Stories?

Generally, within educational and psychological research, emphasis is placed on rigor in the transcription process. Oral interviews are usually transcribed verbatim, which means inclusion of every utterance, pause, tone of voice, and frequently, body language. Precision is important because the researcher is analysing the structure of language. Usually, meaning is found within the transcribed words because language is thought to be transparent; thus, the structure of the transcript conveys the intended meaning. The assumptions of the interpreter are generally not in question. I do not believe that exact reproduction of people's speech is possible. All that we can do as researchers is attempt to reproduce the communicative events as closely as possible – they will never be exact. Also, we cannot reproduce past events. Our stories (and transcriptions of these stories) do not mirror the world as lived because our stories are constructed retrospectively. We can only attempt to reconstruct life events and hope that there will be some degree of verisimilitude. As an analogy, there are qualitative and interpretive differences between being an actor in a play, watching the play, or reading the play.

Transcription is an interpretive practice. A researcher's approach to transcription underscores her or his individual theoretical and epistemological assumptions about research. Riessman (1993) addresses the issue of transcribing texts as an interpretive practice:

> Transcribing discourse, like photographing reality, is an interpretive practice. Decisions about how to transcribe, like decisions about telling and listening, are theory driven and rhetorical. . . . Different transcription conventions lead to and support different interpretations and ideological positions, and they ultimately create different worlds. Meaning is constituted in very different ways with alternative transcriptions of the same stretch of talk. (p. 13)

Transcriptions are always partial; in any specified notation system, some aspects of speech are included while others are excluded (Mishler, 1986). The inclusion/exclusion dimension of transcription practices only points to the assumptions held by the interpreter. The struggle that I faced with the final transcripts had to do with converting a conversation into a narrative. Transcribed speech is not typically a "story" in the narrative sense. I was daunted by the task of taking the stories into my own hands; moving from researcher to author. Wouldn't it have been easier if the participants had agreed to write their own stories? But they didn't. How would I be able to bridge the gap between my interpretations and my participants' intentions? How would I be able to make transcripts into stories? I finally realized that I had to take authority over the text. I had to stand behind my interpretations. I became the author of the narrative accounts; tentatively taking the narratives back to the participants for editorial approval. In the end, I was relieved to find that there were very few changes. Converting transcripts to stories is a daunting task that requires a great deal of reflexivity, ethical consideration, and creativity.

Researcher Privilege

One assumption underlying the research process was the belief that researchers should strive to conduct collaborative and non-hierarchical research (Hermans, 1992; Mies, 1982; Reinharz, 1992). However, there are always inequities inherent in any research relationship given that the topic of study, the research method, authorship, and the interpretation of the final written text remain within the domain of the researcher. Schwandt (1996), like many other human science researchers has struggled with this essential question: "How should I be toward those people I am studying?" (p. 156). Reflecting on this question , I was struck by the ways in which the participants and I fashioned research identities that fell into the traditional research paradigm of researcher as receiver of knowledge and participant as the one who offers knowledge while trying to guess what the researcher wants. The participants made beginning statements, such as "Well, I'm not sure if this is what you want, but . . . " and "Well, I'm not sure where you want me to start . . . " and "I hope this is useful." These tentative overtures indicated that there was a prescribed format that should be adhered to and that the function of the particpant was to provide me with a certain kind of information. Three participants made statements about being careful not to overwhelm me with their experiences, asking if they should continue to give me explicit, emotional details that were contained in their stories. There was a clear but unspoken desire to be cooperative, useful participants. However, the very skills that I shared with the participants as fellow counsellors meant that as the conversations progressed, these skills came into play to surpass the traditional, positivist paradigm as we participated in the kind of conversations I had envisioned.

On one occasion I found myself being dethroned from the researcher's perch when a participant asked me a question during our conversation. I was so surprised by her question – asking me what *I meant* when I said, "Oh that's interesting" – that I was taken off guard because *she* was asking *me, the researcher,* to explain myself! She felt that she was being judged by my comment and she "called me" on it. I began to grow in my new role as co-participant, or using Michelle Fine's (1994) phrase, I began to "work the hyphen" between self and other, calling into question my privileged position as the researcher.

Researcher Self Disclosure

Researcher self-disclosure, when carefully and appropriately offered, initiates authentic dialogue. It is a way of sharing the self of the researcher, exposing beliefs and feelings, and contributing to the construction of the research narrative. As a feminist practice, it supports the notion of non-hierarchical researcher (Josselson, 1996; Reinharz, 1992). These presuppositions about researcher self-disclosure influenced the communicative interactions between my self and the participants. There were several instances where I offered an anecdote, shared my feelings about the participant's story, or told my own parallel story. We mutually explored the meanings of our shared experiences. We laughed together, cried together, held hands, and struggled to understand what it all meant.

Shulamit Reinharz (1992) states that "researchers who self-disclose are reformulating the researcher's role in a way that maximizes engagement of the self but also increases the researcher's vulnerability to criticism, both for what is revealed and for the very act of self-disclosure" (p. 34). What this criticism suggests is the traditional positivist paradigm's insistence on being "objective." I am not alone in my approach to research as conversation. There are many human science scholars who are taking a holistic, reflexive approach to science and who are investigating the moral and emotional aspects of their work (Behar, 1996; Denzin, 1997; Josselson, 1996; Richardson, 1997). As researchers, we are "situated actors" (DeVault, 1990) and we need to understand the nature of our participation in what we know. We need to include ourselves in our research texts in visible ways in order for the reader to discern our interpretations. Also, there needs to be a place in research for somatic and emotive ways of knowing in the construction of knowledge. Reflecting on the process of self-disclosure and its impact on knowledge production during the research encounter is a starting place.

Researcher Vulnerability

What is the by-product of conducting research that is emotive, engaged, and revealing? There has been some mention in the literature on the stressful moments researchers encounter doing such research. Examples are Margaret Gordon and Stephanie Riger's (1989) painful rape interviews, Becky Thompson's (cited in Reinharz, 1992, p. 35) dissertation on eating problems which left her feeling anxious and depressed, and Diane Russell's (1989) *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa*. I anticipated before commencing this research project that the stories of secondary trauma might be difficult for me to hear. However, I was not prepared to be seriously affected by them. To my surprise, I was affected. Each conversation was an emotional encounter. Although I felt encouraged and hopeful after we concluded the second conversations, I was also impacted by my participants' painful struggles. Their stories, which I revisited repeatedly by listening to the audiotapes and re-reading the texts, left me feeling depressed at times. I discovered that there may be a tertiary level to traumatic stress. This might be a future research project for those interested in the implications of trauma research on the researcher. The point I am making, however, is that researchers need to be cautious about the topics they choose to study. In qualitative research, it is not uncommon for the researcher to be personally affected, challenged, or even transformed through the research process.

Organizing the Text

I struggled with great angst over the textual organization and presentation of my ideas in a manner that was consistent with the research method. My desire was to privilege the participants' experiences and recognize personal, local knowledge as a valuable starting place. Traditionally, we locate the "findings" of a research study behind the "review of the literature". In my dissertation, I put the findings up front – the participants' narratives preceded the review of the literature. By placing their narrative accounts first, I was attempting to honour participatory and experiential knowledge construction over the dominant discourse in psychology. Beginning with their stories situated the reader in the experiences of those who have first-hand knowledge of the phenomenon being studied. I believe that reading the narrative accounts and coming to your own understanding of the meaning of an individual's struggle with secondary trauma is a useful position from which to comprehend the research process. Also, showing my participants' struggles before framing their accounts within the larger discourse of trauma was congruent with the collaborative, reflexive narrative method being used.

Struggling With Voice

A final struggle with method involved writing the text. This struggle was about the use of voice in re-presenting self and other in our research texts. I wrote the narratives as first-person accounts. They were my own constructions carefully crafted through a reflexive and collaborative research process. Unlike traditional psychological research where the author of the text is concealed and the lives of the participants are objectified by writing in the third person, I did not want to reduce my participants' experiences to themes or categories. Acknowledging that we, academic authors, are always present in our writing no matter how hard we try to hide this fact (Richardson, 1997), I was attempting to craft narratives that would engage the reader and bring to life the multiple interpretations that informed their creation.

In the same vein, I continued to struggle with voice in the last chapter – the Discussion chapter. Originally, I wrote the last chapter in the traditional format by writing about the significant findings in the research and including excerpts from the transcripts to highlight the main points that I was trying to make. However, when I reread the last chapter I discovered that my participants' voices were overshadowed by the voices of authority – the researcher, and the trauma experts – and I also discovered that my personal voice was missing from the account altogether. The solution I sought was to have a conversation between three different standpoints that had influence in the production of knowledge in this research study. My desire was to engage the reader and position him or her between my story, her story (the participants), and their story (the knowledge put forth from traumatologists). I decided to write the last chapter as a fictional conversation (structured loosely as a play) between the participants in the study, my self as a character named Ruby, and the traumatologists in the character of Dr. Feldman. This fictional conversation was entitled "What Freud Didn't Tell Us: Tales From The Other Side of the Couch." The setting was located in Dr. Feldman's office where the participants, including Ruby, gathered together as a focus group to assist Dr. Feldman with her research on secondary trauma. Together they discussed the findings of her study and the implications for counsellors working in the field of trauma. Using a fictional conversation as my discussion chapter, I was able to bring out the multiple perspectives that influenced the research findings, in equitable terms, without distancing or subjugating any one particular position.

In conclusion, our research studies are often studies about self – the self of the researcher. Laurel Richardson (1997) writes: "Surely as we write ësocial worlds' into being, we write ourselves into being." (p. 137). Butting up against my participants' lives gave new form to my own. A reflexive research process offers human scientists the opportunity of coming to know ourselves in new ways.

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Women's Soccer in Canada: A Slow Road to Equity

Meredith Bogle & Bruce Howe

The paper presents a history of the growth of women's soccer in Canada and its struggle for equity with the more established male game. In this struggle, the development has mirrored the experience found in other sports. A number of factors have contributed to the progress in the sport. These are: societal expectations for women and the rise of feminism, the role of government, the role of sporting organizations, and the increase in female sporting role models. However, it is concluded that, while there has been considerable progress, equity has yet to be achieved.

Introduction

Women's soccer has had a longer history than might be anticipated. In general, its acceptance as a legitimate activity for women has followed the pattern for all women's sport. This can be characterized as a struggle for recognition and progress toward equity with men's sport which, despite encouraging recent advances, has not yet been achieved.

One of the earliest reports of women's soccer occurred between Girton College and Chattenham College in the Eastern U.S.A. Reflecting the general societal attitude towards women taking part in soccer at the time, Emily Davies, the school's headmistress stated, "it would certainly be a shock to the world if it were known" (Guttman, 1991, p. 109). Dorothy Beale, principal of Chattenham College was equally against the activity; "children [the girls of the college] should not run after balls. They may hurt themselves..." (Guttman, 1991, p. 108).

From such unpromising beginnings, soccer has become one of the most popular sports for women. For example, in the U.S.A. in 1996, the Soccer Industry Council of America indicated that 7.24 million women were playing in that country (Howard, 1997, p. 69). In Canada, the growth has also been evident, from 70,000 in 1992 to 150,000 players in 1995 ("Women's National Team Making." 1995, F5).

As for other sports a number of factors have contributed to this development including societal expectations for women and the rise of feminism, the role of government, the role of sporting organizations, and the increase in female sporting role models. These factors will be discussed below.

Societal Expectations of Women and the Impact of Feminism

Sport during the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century was viewed largely as a masculine activity. A woman it was thought, "should always preserve her sense of modesty, and innocence; she must never be seen by the opposite sex, when she is likely to forget herself, i.e., when caught in the emotional excitement of an athletic contest" (Gerber et al, 1974, p. 12). Medical arguments to keep women from participating in certain sports were also presented frequently. For example, reacting to women who took up snow shoeing in 1860, opponents argued that "it was an activity not exactly fitted to ladies, even as a matter of healthful amusement...their pretty ankles and delicate feet...so liable to twists and sprains from falls, and to be swollen by the rude pressure of the deerskin."(cited in Howell and Howell, 1981, p. 91). Others argued that participation in "strenuous or vigorous exercise" would "cause the uterus to be affected and because it was connected to the nervous system, would threaten reproduction and lead to weak an degenerative offspring" (Twin, 1979, p. 17). These opinions were widespread and were repeated by leaders in the field of physical education. Arthur Lamb, one of the founders of the Canadian Physical Education Society advocated that women should not compete in strenuous sports believing they were "too high strung and not physically capable of such competition" (cited in Kidd, 1996, pg. 114).

During this century, there were two significant periods of feminist influence, that brought new sporting opportunities for women in sport. The first of these followed World War I where the achievements of young women workers had reinforced the rising dissatisfaction of the place of women in the society. In an effort to demonstrate success in all aspects of society, women turned their attention to sport. Sport historians have labeled the 1920's as, "an era of renaissance for women; a time where their search for identity took them into the world of athletics" (Howell and Howell, 1981, p. 228). However, while there was progress in a few sports, this was not true for team sports such as soccer in which very few women were involved. In Alberta, for example, it was recorded that the efforts of a group of women attempting to form soccer teams were opposed by the men's soccer organization. As Jose & Rannie(1984) noted, "they were thought to be ahead of their time" (p. 35).

While there was some gradual increased participation in sport by women following the 1920s, feminist activity was less apparent beginning with the Depression and continuing through the period immediately following World War II. However, the beginning of the 1960's brought about a time when a "female athletic revolution" occurred; a period when women were found to be participating in sports on a much greater level (Dyer et al, 1982, p. 33). Undoubtedly, the women's movement had a positive impact on society's acceptance of women in sport. Women were now seen as a "more productive and integral part of society" (Howell and Howell, 1981, p. 228). Furthermore, women were influenced by feminists such as Betty Frieden and her encouragement to question the "feminine mystique"; which included questioning sport, "the most male dominated sphere of all" (Lynn, 1975, pg. 96). During both these periods, women expanded their roles, and subsequently, sought out new sporting opportunities. This was much more effective in the 1960s because it was supported by government action, which put pressure on sporting organizations to recognize women's legitimate aspirations.

This growth has continued and "mushroomed" dramatically during the last two decades. Despite this rapid growth, women's soccer still had its detractors as noted in an article in the Vancouver Province in which women's soccer was called "the ultimate sports obscenity" ("Women Invade the Soccer Field", 1980, p. 11). Indicative of more positive change in attitude was the growth of girl's soccer. In 1973, there were only three girls teams registered with the British Columbia Youth Soccer Association. By 1980, there was 317, not including those over 19 ("Women Invade the Soccer Field", 1980, p. 10). More recently, the women's coach at the University of Calgary commented positively on the style of women's soccer , "the best soccer at the U of C is played by women. The Dinosaur women are a class act." ("Women's Soccer : A Class Act", 1992, D1). Long time National team player, Silvana Burtini commented directly on the change in attitude towards women's soccer in Canada that she has witnessed over the last ten years: "When I first started with the National team, we were wearing men's old uniforms. We never had any sweat suits and when we did, it was only because they did not fit men" (Girls Soccer Going Strong, 1996, B3). Similarly, Canadian newspaper articles revealed much more positive attitudes towards women's sports. Specifically, the Montreal Gazette proposed, "the 1990's will be different, due to changing attitudes and new initiatives. More and more traditional sporting organizations are seeing new possibilities through expansion with a girls/women's focus" ("Sport Making a Steady March", 1993, C4).

Role of Government

As suggested above, reflecting the changing society values, government efforts to promote equity was most important in encouraging changes to sport for Canadian women. The passage of the 1960 Canadian Bill of Rights was among the most important actions. It introduced Section

(b) which guaranteed, "equality before the law and protection of the law without discrimination because of...sex" (cited in Brodsky and Day, 1989, p. 14). While, the courts were slow to enact these laws, it had a definite effect on public awareness of the inequality. This was reinforced by the subsequent passage of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, proclaimed in 1982, in which sections 15(1) and 28 dealt specifically with discrimination based on human characteristics including gender (Status of Women in Canada, 1995, p.1). Although there were problems associated with enacting these laws, they did raise the issue of gender equality.

These changes were paralleled by actions within the Canadian sport system. For example, several conferences were held in Canada during the 1970s to specifically address the issues of women in sport in Canada. Following the National Conference on Women, held in Toronto in 1975, a formal plan was devised to address the need to improve opportunities for women. By 1979, the federal government had published a document with seven goals, each of which addressed a specific issue effecting women in sport. These included, "continuation of research into women in sport and recreation administration; the conducting of further seminars on women in fitness and sport, and to encourage national sport and recreation associations to create new programs and modify programs to meet the needs of girls (and boys), (Canadian Advisory Council, 1979, p. 21)

All this action had been strongly influenced in 1972 by the passage of Title IX in the U.S.A. as part of the Educational Amendments Act, which prohibited sex discrimination in sport. Title IX had a dramatic effect on participation rates in that country. For example, between 1967 and 1984, the number of females participating in intercollegiate sport in the United States increased 1000% (Johnson and Freye, 1985). Canadian women began to use this legislation as a model for this country.

An important development occurred in 1981 with the founding of the semi-governmental agency, the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS). This organization provided continuous pressure on the Federal Government to establish the "Women's Program" under Sport Canada. This program listed seven goals, ranging from identifying the needs of women in sport to ensuring that women's sports were further promoted. For example, Policy 4.6 *Participation and Development* promised "...with other agencies and other levels of government, Sport Canada will increase participation opportunities for women in all forms of competitive sport" (Ministry of Supply and Services 1986, p. 15).

While it is difficult to relate these actions directly to improving the acceptance of women's soccer, there is little doubt that the general encouragement was sufficient to give a great deal of impetus to those individuals committed to improving the opportunities in the sport for girls and women.

Role of Sporting Organizations

It is clear that most sporting organizations throughout the majority of the 20th century have been reluctant supporters of women's sport. From the example of De Coubertin who worked hard but unsuccessfully to prevent women from participating in the Olympic Games, "We feel that the Olympic Games must be reserved for men .... Can women be given access to all the Olympic Games? No ..... Tomorrow perhaps there will be women runners, or even soccer players. Would such sports practised by women be an edifying sight for an Olympiad?" (cited in Leigh, 1974, p.76). This attitude was mirrored by national sports organizations including the Dominion Soccer Association (precursor of the Canadian Soccer Association). This group debated and provided no support for a proposed tour by a United States Women's team in the 1920s (Jose, 1984). This negative position was continued into the 1980s, despite rising participation at all levels. At a national convention organized by the Canadian Soccer Association, inter-provincial sport competition was denied to women. Sopinka (1984) reported that the Ontario representative argued against the need on the basis that " players' level of participation do not justify the creation and promotion of either a provincial or national team" (p.8). Sylvie Beliveau, as national coach was quoted "When I was playing there were no provincial teams and only championships for select teams. That was from 1978-82... there was nothing for me. I was eighteen.... I'm sure soccer lost a great many athletes to other sports." (cited in Long, 1995, p.203).

However, despite this opposition, numbers of players continued to rise and pressure began to be applied for greater opportunities to participate. The increase in numbers of young girls playing, along with more elite competition including intercollegiate, provincial, and international competition encouraged further involvement and wider acceptance. Sepp Blatter, Secretary to FIFA, soccer's world governing body, noted that "the future is feminine. Women's soccer is growing so fast that we may justifiably expect that within the first decade of the next century, there will be as many women playing as men." (Women's Soccer Alive and Kicking, 1995, p. 76).

Three critical events in the present decade have reinforced this level of acceptance. In 1991, the first World Cup Championship for women was held in China. Three years later, women's soccer was added to the 1993 World University Games. Commenting on the significance of women's inclusion to the University Games, Theresa Quigley, Athletic Director at McMaster University stated, it is "the first time that women's soccer has ever been a part of a multi million dollar sport competition" an addition which moved it "one step closer to international recognition as an elite sport" ("Partnership Paved the Way for Women's Soccer," 1993, D2). The final action was the addition of women's soccer to the 1996 Olympic Games. Commenting on the addition, Sylvie Beliveau stated, "soccer on the men's side has the World Cup as its premiere event, but I think being included in the Olympic Games will help women to be more recognized just because of the exposure that comes with being a part of the Olympics" (cited in Long, 1995, p. 203).

Female Role Models

Relative to other women's sports, female role models in soccer are few. However, in recent years, the number has risen significantly. In the United States for example, Mia Hamm, and Michelle Akers, both long time members of the women's national team, have become well recognized. In 1997, Hamm was voted, "the greatest female soccer player in the world", and "the most popular athlete of womankind" (Howard, 1997, p. 68). Before Hamm, Michelle Akers was given similar recognition. Akers earned the titles: "the best women soccer player in the world", "most visible spokesperson", and "the first international superstar the United States team had." (Howard, 1997, p. 69).

Within Canada, several individuals have become known in women's soccer. Among these, Sylvie Beliveau has been a significant role model. In 1991, she was appointed head coach of the Canadian Women's National soccer team, having served as assistant coach from 1986 (Long, 1995, p. 203). This marked the first time that a female had been given such a position in Canadian soccer. Specific players in Canada have also been successful. Carrie Serwetnyk , according to Long (1995) is known as "one of the few women athletes in Canada who can say that she makes a good living from her sport," (p. 203). In 1992, she signed a one-year deal worth $100,000 US to play soccer in Japan on the Fujita Corporation team; a deal, which made headlines as it was more than many professional players in the CFL were making at the time. (Long, 1995, p. 203). Another member of the Canadian National Women's team, Silvana Burtini has become well-known figure because of her ability to score goals. In 1995, after scoring five goals in an international game, Burtini was labeled "the most prolific woman scorer on the international stage that Canada has ever produced" ("Women's Soccer Rates Support", 1994, D3). All these models have given young women the incentive to want to improve their skills and compete at higher levels.

Conclusion

As presented, the trends in women's soccer have followed the growth of women's sport in general. However, equity is far from being achieved, as indicated by: the lack of crowd support, lack of funding and available fields. Commenting on the lack of spectators at a game between the Canadian women's team and the United States team, Sylvie Beliveau said, " this is what we live with... a bad crowd for women's soccer" ("Few Came to See Hard Working..., 1995, C4). This was made more apparent by the fact that 12,000 fans showed up towards the end of the game to see the men's team play Ireland. Similarly, funding for players is a huge problem. Noting the one million dollars allotted for the World Cup Program, goalkeeper Wendy Hawthorne stated, "I can assure you that none of the players are personally seeing any of that money. Everyone had taken time off work and there is no compensation" ("Women Set to Take Run at the Title, 1995, D13). Finally, access to facilities is a problem. For example, on a local level, Rob Gibson, President of the Metro Women's League in Vancouver, B.C. concluded that one of the biggest problems for women's soccer is the lack of facilities, "...the men's and youth programs started before women's, so they have historical rights". He further commented, "we virtually have no alternative fields when our grass fields are closed. " He concluded that if access to field does not improve, the Metro Women's League will have to put a cap on the numbers of teams (R. Gibson personal communication, March 2, 1996).

In summary, since the nineteenth century, significant growth in women's soccer has occurred most of which has been in the last ten years. As discussed, societal expectations influenced by the feminist movement, the role of government, the role of sporting organizations, and the increase in female role models have all been factors in the expansion. Despite these considerable achievements, it is still true that equity for women in soccer has yet to be achieved. This clearly is the challenge for the 21st Century.

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Friendship: An Epistemological Frame for Narrative Inquiry

Wendy Donawa

The practice of friendship can serve as an epistemological frame for self-knowledge, moral autonomy and critical inquiry. Five conceptual shifts that inform my research involve an understanding: of gender as relationship, of all knowledge as situated and perspectival, of identity as moral process, of intelligence as relationship, and of the unavoidable paradox of relational knowing. From this conceptual base, I maintain that practices defining and arising from friendship—the empathic imagination, trust, reflexivity, and narrative connection—may be transposed to ethical and scholarly discourses.

My inquiry explores ethical and epistemological dimensions of friendship. This paper addresses several questions that arise from a theoretical focus on the dynamics of friendship: In what ways does an understanding of relationship offer a frame for knowledge and self-knowledge? What characteristics are embodied in friendship? In what does the *practice* of friendship consist? How might an understanding of this practice, this ethos, shape inquiry into other discourses?

My research is interdisciplinary; its methodology is narrative, feminist and hermeneutic. It is grounded in stories women have told me, in the relationships that have made it possible for me to hear them, and in the reflective processes through which I have sought to understand them. I have spent my adult life in the Caribbean, and the narrative voices of my inquiry are those of four longstanding Caribbean women friends; like me, they are in mid-life.

My reflections, too, are grounded in the Caribbean, and in the peculiar insider-outsider understanding of margins and commitment that this location has permitted me. My own story is a work in progress; to a great extent it is a story of my inquiring. And this is so because I have found the models for knowledge and research in which I was trained to be increasingly inadequate either to frame as "real" that which has given depth, richness and meaning to my life, or to delineate that which is problematic and intractable.

In this paper's two sections, then, I unfold a discursive map that situates the concerns and assumptions that have guided my journey. First, I summarize some of the positions articulated by feminist philosophers, and by post-structural and post-colonial writers, positions that theorize the connections between an understanding of relationship and the epistemological framing of other moral and academic discourses. Second, I speak to practices that arise from and are tested by friendship, and suggest that these practices can shape inquiry into other domains of knowledge.

Understanding Relationships: A Frame for Knowledge

Relational concepts drawn from feminist and post-colonial frames have moved me towards a conviction that knowing people in relationships offers an epistemological model for a wide range of knowledge, and for the development of multiple moral perspectives. Lorraine Code (1993), for instance, makes an argument for "the productivity of hermeneutic, interpretive, literary methods of analysis and explanation in the social sciences. [She notes that] the skills these approaches require are not so different from the interpretive skills that human relationships require" (p. 37).

These interpretive and hermeneutic approaches are embodied in the five conceptual shifts that have influenced my own theorizing, and which I summarize below.

Shift 1: Retheorizing Gender.

Harding (1996) offers an understanding of gender as a relationship, not as a defining attribute, and as a socially constructed product, not an artifact of individual choice. Knowledge, she argues convincingly, is always invested in power, and any change in the power construct must manifest itself along the tensions of class, race, gender and any other contested sites between centre and margins. If gender is a relationship, a social product, it follows that any social change shifts these tensions among sites of power and therefore is also likely to be a site of gender struggle.

Here, standpoint epistemologies (Harding, 1993, Grosz, 1994) are crucial. Making visible the relations between knowledge and power, they offer an engaged, grounded vision of the world with less distortion than "value-neutral" research which stays blind to its own interests and unaware of its own bias (Haraway, 1993; Grosz, 1994; Code, 1993). Not surprisingly, standpoints are sites of struggle and contention, for they reveal what is not supposed to exist.

And so women's passionate curiosity, their desire to know, will to know, grounding connections "between the lived experience and the activity of the critical intelligence" (Braidotti, 1994, p.176), is profoundly threatening to "universal" patriarchal knowledge systems, because the will to knowledge is also the will to be visible, to have substance and agency. It is the will to power.

Shift 2: Situating Knowledge.

An epistemology of understanding people in relationships allows a new understanding of gender; it also requires that we understand all knowledge as local and situated (Harding, 1993). It is crucial to pay as much attention to context as to content; epistemological positions do not float free of those who express them: "To understand an idea [means] understanding a person in her social circumstances" (Ruddick, 1996, p. 259).

Knowers may not be universally everywhere, but they are always somewhere. Knowledge, grounded in experience, in dialogue, is always relative to a specific standpoint or perspective. And despite the contradictions and fluctuations of subjectivity, "something must be fixed to 'contain' the flux ...enough to permit ... ongoing relationships with 'this person'. Knowing people always occurs within the terms of this tension" (Code, 1993, p. 34).

Shift 3: Identity as Moral Process.

Susan Hekman (1995) negotiates a compelling concept of multiple subjectivity. From relational discourse she speaks to identity: "I become the person I am in action with specific others. The way I feel it necessary to be with them is the person I take myself to be. The self-organization becomes my 'nature'"(Mitchell, cited in Hekman, p. 74). From postmodernism's linguistic understanding of subjectivity, Hekman emphasizes the Foucaultian connection between epistemological and moral subjectivity: How the subject knows is linked to who the subject is. She finds that feminism's validation of personal knowledge foregrounds a dialectical subject who takes difference and plurality seriously, who understands that knowledge is "perspectival....[that] the knowing self is partial in all its guises...never finished ... always constructed... And therefore able to join with another ... without claiming to be another"(p. 100).

The moral connection of identity and relation is echoed by Lynn McFall, who speaks to "identity-conferring commitment" (1987, p. 13), the fundamental commitments that make us who we are, "the conditions of continuing as ourselves"(p.12). Mary Catherine Bateson emphasizes the productive connections of relationship:

> We create each other, bring each other into being by being part of the matrix in which the other exists. We grope for a sense of a whole person who has departed in order to believe that as whole persons

> we remain and continue, but torn out of the continuing gestation of our meetings one with another, whoever seems to remain is thrust into a new life (1984, p.140).

Although the relational condition is fluid, unfixed, "we cannot escape [it]," says Nel Noddings (1989, p. 237),"but we can reflect on it, evaluate it, move it in a direction we find good".

Shift 4: Necessary Contradictions.

Perspectival knowledge and continual epistemological negotiation (with their insistence that all knowledge is local, relative, and embedded in relations of power) are incompatible with the universal world view they contest. Negotiating these contradictions, I have found Myra Jehlen (1981) instructive. Appropriating the fable of Archimedes' lever, whose fulcrum could have moved the world if Archimedes had had somewhere to stand, she questions the location of a patriarchal universe that has always represented itself as absolute. The fulcrum at which she shifts this world lies at the point "where misogyny is pivotal or crucial to the whole"(p. 586). It is at this point that crucial issues manifest themselves, this "necessary contradiction", "the meshing of a definition of women and a definition of the world"

Phelan and Garrison (1994) push Jehlen's "necessary contradictions" further, seeing in unreconciled paradox and contradiction opportunities for a new understanding of rationality and critical thinking. Lorraine Code's (1993) contention that knowing people in relationships provides a model for a wide range of knowledge also has currency here, for it is the finding of much feminist ethical thought that knowing in relationship is itself a paradox. "We know ourselves as separate only insofar as we live in connection with others, and we experience relationship only insofar as we differentiate others from self" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 63). Women "who live with and in the tensions" of Raymond's (1986) *dual vision,* both realistic and visionary, are empowered to live in the world as it is while maintaining a vision of the world as it ought to be. Analogous contradictory tensions structure Robin Dillon's (1992) *care-respect,* Annette Baier's (1994) *appropriate trust,* Seyla Benhabib's (1992) and Maria Lugones' (In Fox, 1992) *interdependent seeing.* "Which particular contents of the soul, which elements of the fat, relentless ego, must be dispensed with for the sake of loving vision and which must be retained in order for there to be a self that views?" (Fox, p. 115).

It is possible to embrace contraries, say Phelan and Garrison, if our aim is to disclose meaning and enhance understanding rather than to prove a truth through philosophic discourse. The dialectic of poetry, the integration of the inner voice and the voice of reason, drives the search for insight, and constitutes the paradox, the tension, that creates opportunities for new connections, for a reconstruction of our conception of critical thought and for the understanding of intelligence as a social relationship.

Shift 5: Intelligence as a Social Relationship.

We can conceptualize knowledge anew when we perceive intelligence to emerge from a "fundamental 'relationality'...[that] precedes both knowing and gender. A knowing self...is created within relationships" (Ruddick, 1996, p. 263). Sara Ruddick outlines the trajectory of relationship and knowing from an infant's knowledge of her mother. This relationship determines the understanding that structures how and what the infant can know. Later, the child learns from "objects" of her knowledge: People, texts, narratives. Further on, she "turns the gaze of inquiry on the relationships . . . .it is through knowing the relations in which she is constituted that a person knows herself" (Ruddick,p. 264). A feminist ethic that perceives intelligence as a social relationship, then, also suggests a link between epistemological ideal and moral result (See also Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Benjamin,1986).

A recursive refrain: how we know is who we are. A richly responsive emotional life may well transfer its habitual ways of knowing to seemingly unrelated contexts, reinforcing Code's (1993) contention that knowing people in relationships offers an epistemological model for other kinds of knowledge. "Thus, maternal thinking, as a whole, might affect even the models of theoretical science" (Ruddick, p. 255). Thus Elizabeth Able (1981) finds in the relational ties of affection and intimacy an imaginative identification with the other that is "the essence of literature and moral growth"(p. 423). Abel's literary/ethical model resonates for me; it is the one I will follow as I trace how the phenomenon of friendship provides a template for self-understanding and for academic inquiry.

To summarize: I have tried to delineate an epistemological framework of situated knowledge, intersubjective tensions and moral subjectivity as process. These processes and tensions, and their inevitable contradictions allow contextually relative critical thinking, and an ethic connecting knowledge and knower, epistemology and result. This framework provides a substrate for further reflection upon a particular species of relationship: The mercurial and diverse phenomenon of friendship.

Friendship as Practice

I return to the notion that particular practices define, arise from, and are tested by friendship, and that these practices may be transposed to other discourses. Further, I suggest that we are friends to the degree that we are committed to the *work* of friendship. Below, I have pointed to several forces I believe to shape the practice of friendship, and of an epistemologically "friendly" framing of knowledge.

The Empathic Imagination

The empathic imagination of friendship, what Belenky calls "the deliberate imaginative extension of one's understanding" (1996, p. 209), both preserves the "*otherness* of the other" (Clinchy, 1996, p. 230) and enables the knower to perceive herself from the perspective of that other. Knowing the other is inseparable from self-knowledge; thinking, says Hannah Arendt is "intercourse with oneself" (in Raymond, 1986, p. 222). Raymond concurs: "The conversation of friendship with others can only be had by those who have learned to think with themselves"(p. 222). Imaginative empathy invites metaphor, narrative; the empathic relational ties that Elizabeth Able (1981) noted as "the essence of literature and of moral growth" (p. 423) are germane, for the skills of responsive reading (with their understanding that the text's meaning is never exhausted by its author) are not that different from the interpretive skills of human intersubjectivity. A similar mode of literary empathy illuminates the concern of feminist social scientists with issues of diversity, representation and rapport.

Trust

Empathy makes possible a methodology of trust. Trust, on a spectrum with faith and belief, is not an attribute or a product, but an empathic procedure to guide action and interaction. "Trust...will influence cognitive processes," writes Olivia Frey (1990, p. 517); trust connects knowledge and knower in a meaningful way; it honours relationship and experience. Trust, in friendship and in research, directs what we can know and how we can know, and confirms intelligence as a social relation. Annette Baier (1994) warns us to mediate our practice with appropriate trust, to develop "a belief-informed and action-influencing attitude"(1995, p.10). She speaks, too, of risks if we choose to strive for a climate of trust, "exposing our throats so that others become accustomed to not biting" (p. 15).

Reflexivity

Those feminist writers I have consulted who speak to friendship all address the need for reflexive practice. Hannah Arendt (in Raymond, 1986) sees thinking as a primary condition of female friendship:

"Thinking" Raymond agrees, "is materialized in the thoughtfulness of women's friendship (p. 223). Thinking is the theory; thoughtfulness is the practice"(p. 218). Elizabeth Able locates reflexivity in friendship that is "both the vehicle and the product of self-knowledge"(p. 429). Marilyn Friedman (1992) sees friendship as both a culture and a potential counterculture capable of supporting unconventional values and of promoting critical moral reflection.

A prolonged, mindful attentiveness to experience is productive of understanding and insight. The practice of empathy and trust assists a recursive returning to experience, so that eventually we understand more fully the nature and significance of our reflections and of the knowledge forms that we use. Mary Catherine Bateson's insistence that there is "a spiritual basis to attention, a humility in waiting upon the emergence of pattern from experience,"(1994, p.10) reminds me that to attend is to be present, to court, to serve, to accompany, to pay heed. Attention's etymological roots signify strain, a purposeful stretching toward something. Here the hermeneutic human sciences have helped me reflect upon my inquiry as post-colonial text, as autobiographical text and as phenomenological text, and to understand how my academic interests have enhanced my ability to understand the processes of my own life. It is our commitment to understanding what serves the integrity and well-being of the self, or of the friend, or of the inquiry that brings us to work productively and authentically in the difficulty and mystery of human experience.

The Narrative Connection of Personal Experience to its Social and Cultural Context

When I insert myself into a friend's narrative as a way of coming to understand her story, I am still in the midst of my own life story, and we are both embedded, each in her own cultural contextual narrative. But an interpretation of the relation between our (singular and shared) experience (our *petits recits),* and its social and ideological landscape has the potential to "write back" against the Grand Narrative of the dominant culture. These "small stories" constitute our identity, our history; they illuminate the dynamic and logic of our narrative unfolding, and reveal the sources of our material and ideological domination.

For narrative is always a process, connecting the individual to the environment she shapes and is shaped by, as re/visioning constructs another facet of our reality, as endings suggest the possibility of new beginnings. Ursula Le Guin stresses the crucial importance of narrative connection: "An inability to fit events together...to make the narrative connection, is a radical incompetence at being human. So seen, stupidity can be defined as a failure to make enough connections, and insanity as severe repeated error in making connections"(1989, p. 43). I suggest that a radical competence at being human lies in the empathic, trustful, reflexive connections that constitute an epistemology of friendship, and I can do no better than echo Sara Ruddick: "Finally I look for ways of knowing and counting knowledge that would judge...in the light of the pleasures they offer, the love they make possible, the care they provide, and the justice they observe" (1996, p. 267).

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Human Diversity: Concepts and the Research Direction

Lily Dyson, Lori McLeod & Leif Rasmussen

A new reality for Canadian society is an increasing diversity in the population. Out of this new reality, there come new political voices in which various groups of the Canadian population seek to express themselves and to demand political and social rights to which they are entitled. Amid this changing social, economic, and political climate, human diversity has become a salient concept in the contemporary society. Yet, as an ever-changing concept, human diversity remains a notion to be understood. The concept also challenges existing psychology and study of human development with ramifications for education. Research methodology for studying human development, consequently, requires re-examination. At issue are: What is the contemporary concept of human diversity, what research methodology is required, and what implications are there for education. The purpose of the present paper is to delineate these issues.

Human Diversity as a Concept

The concept of diversity has received different treatments in the psychological and social domains throughout the modern history (Trickett, Watts, & Birman, 1994). In the early 1900s, diversity was considered to be inferiority due to deviance from the norm (Gould, 1981). To be different meant to be inferior (Trickett et al., 1994). During the 1960s, diversity was explained by a deficit model, with an implicit assumption that "poor and minority individuals lacked the genes, culture or personality to live a successful life" (Trickett et al., 1994, p. 13). Reacting to the negative depiction of diversity, a new cultural pluralism and an affirmative cultural identity have emerged which characterize the contemporary view of human diversity. These concepts endorse the distinctive and positive attributes of difference and affirm the fundamental value of human diversity in society (Trickett et al., 1994; Jones, 1990). Against the past deficit model of diversity in which the dominant culture sets the norms, values and social structure, the new cultural pluralism advocates that everyone has a culture, a race, a gender, a sexual orientation and a place in the social order (Trickett et al., 1994). The new focus in the conceptualization and application of human diversity thus is on similarities and differences in the experience of various groups of people. In examining these areas, the study directs its attention to culture, resilience, and strengths in individuals, groups and soci ety. A complete model of human diversity also needs to include the dominant culture in the domain of diversity.

The new concept of human diversity thus views human diversity as positive attributes and values the diversity of similarities and differences. The new model attends to the resilience and competence of people. This concept of human diversity encompasses a range of contexts including culture, race, gender, sexual orientation and age. In emphasizing cultural pluralism, the notion of human diversity also includes and respects the majority culture. Finally, the concept of human diversity has the ultimate goal of mitigating against the marginalization of non-privileged groups (Trickett et al., 1994).

Research Issues and General Methodology

With the new perspective of human diversity, study of human diversity requires a research methodology, which expands beyond the traditional one to explicate human development. A new concept of human diversity believes that all populations and worldviews are subjects of inquiry. The research methodology draws from these principles: (1) Diversity and people are to be understood in context, (2) there are multiple sources of causality, and (3) the content and process of development are both important for understanding human diversity. The content may be the behavior, development, and events which researchers seek to understand. The context encompasses social systems and the physical environment in which the person functions, and the evolution over time of these three (Jones, 1994).

A research methodology drawn from the concept of human diversity will seek to explain behavior within culture and context. Within these domains, research examines the ecological context-influencing behavior and specifies the transactional relationships between the individual and the context. The study of human diversity thus involves multiple-levels: Family, community and the larger society. Within the family, the individual's development is explained in terms of his/her role in the family, which is mediated by the culture and ethnic membership. At the community level, there are both shared and non-shared experiences, which will interact to influence the individual. The larger society may be grossly represented by the culture. While culture influences behavior, cultural values and strategies are also affected by intercultural contact. The reciprocal influences of people in context and between cultures thus demands a model of human development, which is multi-dimensional, rather than one-dimensional. Research must reflect this model to represent the experiences of all parties, not just those who are placed at the center stage (Jones, 1994).

To more accurately represent the richness and multi-dimensional nature of human diversity, specific research analytical methodology is required (Jones, 1994). Some considerations are as follows:

(a) Longitudinal tracking and cohort analysis is necessitated by the changing social and cultural contexts, which will necessarily influence individual's development.

(b) Research needs to search for causation, which is bi-directional and has multiple factors: The variables must be constructed from the range of contexts and environments that influence behaviour. The goal is to identify patterns of influence that affect a range of behaviour over time and across contexts.

(c) Research needs to avoid main-effect comparisons of groups solely by nominal categories such as man and woman. Instead, efforts should be made to capture the complexity of human experiences through an analysis of interaction effect of cultural and social contexts in which groups reside.

Moreover, study of the richness of human diversity requires empowering the research participants. Empowerment is an intentional, ongoing process in which the participants are actively included in the research process. In this process, there is mutual respect, caring, and group participation with equal sharing of resources. Empowerment implies that the many competencies are already present in individuals. The role of research is to give voice to the individuals of interest by authenticating their experiences (Rappaport, 1990). This approach would not only ensure that the results accurately represent the social reality of the people studied but also add to the understanding of the multi-dimensional quality of human diversity, which the researcher seeks to bring forth.

Given the above methodological considerations, studies of human diversity may make use of naturalistic or qualitative methodology that captures the experience of people in context. This method, however, does not exclude the effort to quantify people's experiences collected from a qualitative study (Rappaport, 1994). How may the concept of human diversity with its implied research domains and methodology be applied to the research? The cases of aging and disability will be illustrated.

Examples of Research Application

Aging. In studying human diversity, researchers are now including the aged as a unique social group whose experiences are important to consider (Gatz & Cotton, 1994). Butler (cited in Gatz & Cotton, 1994) states that in the youth-oriented society of North America, negative generalizations about the qualities and behaviors of aged individuals can lead to unhealthy personal and social identities, disenfranchisement and other adverse living circumstances. To combat the potentially damaging affects of ageism, Gatz and Cotton (1994) suggest the need to more thoroughly explore the sociocultural stereotypes of age, the individual self perceptions people have as they age, the institutionalized processes that discriminate based on age, as well as the ways in which these factors influence each other.

Past studies on the aged have focused on issues that were determined to be important by researchers. Additionally, the methods used to study these issues were based on a deficit approach where aged individuals who succumbed to the harmful generalizations of ageism were the focus of the research. Now, as more researchers are incorporating the contemporary human diversity perspective into their work, the focus has shifted to the strengths, competencies and resilience of aged people who have in the past or are presently adapting to adverse social realities (Gatz & Cotton, 1994). Along with this shift towards focusing on the competencies of the aged, researchers are recognizing the importance of collaborating with this population within the sociocultural contexts of their lives (Trickett et al., 1994). By working with the aged in their sociocultural contexts, researchers can gain a better understanding of their varied opportunities and constraints. This collaboration in context also allows for relationships to develop where the aged can comfortably communicate issues that they feel are important along with how these issues affect their self-perceptions and continued development. By maintaining this collaboration throughout the research process, the work is authentic, as it represents the values of the aged. It is also empowering, as the aged participate and grow from the process rather than being objectified (Rappaport, 1994).

To further explore aging and ageism using the human diversity perspective, a pilot interview was done with a fifty three year old man to determine what issues were important to him at that stage in his life as well as to see how he viewed the aged. Questions asked of him included: how old is old; what influences an aged person's self-perceptions; and, if ageism exists, how is it manifested? Salient issues arising from his responses included: aging is both a physical and psychological process; aged people may feel left out or ignored as our youth-oriented society is busy pursuing personal endeavors; the relationship between the aged and their families has the strongest influence on their self perceptions; and, there is a real need for our society to give the aged the respect and dignity they deserve. When asked what ageism is, he replied that:

> ... it is the intolerance of the physical behavior of aged people, with the example being that they move around slowly. It is also the intolerance towards older people who are advocating for respect and fair-

> ness, with the example of some medical personnel who don't see the value in helping older people who have suffered from strokes, etc. They feel that rehabilitation is a waste of time for these people.

When asked what the similarities and differences are between ageism and discrimination against other groups, the man responded that, like other forms of discrimination, there is an unwillingness to accept, understand and work with the concerns the group represents. He stated that ageism is different from other forms of discrimination in that there is less physical confrontation because older people can not fight back and also because society does attempt to respect the aged. A result, he concluded that there is hope for combating ageism. In response to the question "how can we combat ageism", he replied, "... understand what ageism is through education; be willing to commit time, money and energy towards combating ageism; maintain a structure within society that helps the aged, including pensions and health services".

It appears that conducting an interview similar to that used in this pilot study may be applied with young children through to the aged to understand prevailing views of aging and ageism in a variety of age cohorts. From this surveyed information on the aged, researchers could collaborate with a diverse range of members within the aged population (e.g. cultural minorities, different sexual orientations, degrees of able bodiedness) to compare the realities of their lives with the perceptions as revealed on the survey. information. Subsequently, the researcher and the aged participants together to promote more realistic understanding of the aged could develop programs. Programs could also be developed to educate people of all ages to challenge their socially constructed views of the aged. Gatz and Cotton (1994) suggest that the group empowerment that develops from the human diversity perspective is a way to combat the damaging effects of negative generalizations directed at the aged as well as educating the aged that ageism is socially constructed, not personally derived. The collaborative and empowering approach resulting from this perspective may also be an effective way to understand other groups of people such as those who have disabilities.

Disability. The history of 'disability' in North American society is based on the European heritage of social welfare, charity and concepts of morality (Scheer, 1994). The North American idea of disability is thus grounded in the medical model (Danesco, 1997; Scheer, 1994; Whyte & Ingstad, 1995) which is oriented toward a deviance perspective (McDermott & Varenne, 1995). This perspective assumes that there is a "normal" development, and those who do not fit that typical development are deviant and must be cured (Gartner, Lipsky, & Turnbull, 1991). In North American society, people with differences or deviance have further been historically marginalized (Scheer, 1994; Gartner et al. 1991). However, in recent years, socio-political shifts resulted in such movements as the Disability Rights Movement and the Independent Living Movement (Scheer, 1994). The shifts have led to the concept that a disability is socially constructed (Lane, 1995).

Taking a social-constructivist view of disability enables a reassessment of previously taken-for-granted view of the nature and life-course of people with impairments (Ibrahim, 1995). The concept of disability may be reframed using a human diversity perspective (Scheer, 1994). This leads one to focus on the individual's strengths, and how that person is similar to the rest of the population, rather than to focus only on the person's inabilities and differences (Trickett et al., 1994). A human diversity perspective also suggests that the goal of research should be to empower and advocate for disenfranchised or marginalized groups (Trickett, et al., 1994, Rappaport, 1994). One goal of the human diversity perspective, thus, would be to understand what the social construction of disability means to the person with that label.

In applying the contemporary human diversity perspective to understand the concept of a disability culture, Scheer (1994) suggests that the common life experience for people with disabilities may be seen as a sense of mutual relatedness and identity (Scheer, 1994). This issue may be explored through a qualitative research method drawn from the phenomenology of being a member of a disability culture. A brief interview was thus conducted with a 20 year-old man with a mental handicap. Questions included "What is a handicap", "who do you think is handicapped", and "do you have friends who are handicapped".

The results of the interview showed that the young man found it difficult to identify or describe what a handicap is, despite his own inabilities (i.e. physical deformities, gait problems, hearing needs, medical conditions and cognitive needs). In fact, the interviewee found it distressing to identify himself as mentally handicapped. This young man was also hesitant to align himself with the "mentally handicapped." He was very quick to state that he had no friends who are handicapped and that he did not belong to any groups of people who are disabled. He made these statements although he was attending a college program designed for individuals with disabilities, had attended special classes throughout his regular education, and had been involved in Special Olympics. The results of the interview negate Scheer's (1994) suggestion that there is a shared identity for individuals described as developmentally disabled. Persons with disabilities clearly have their own perceptions of their ability and life, which are not accessible by any others except themselves. Empowering these individuals to speak for themselves is thus important for research intended to understand human diversity.

Critiques of Human Diversity as a Research Paradigm

The results of the two pilot studies suggest the plausibility of a human diversity perspective as a model for empirical investigation of human development and experience. However, this model is not without its difficulties.

With regards to the aging research, natural processes such as memory loss, illness and incapacitation affect aging, which make collaborating more challenging. Also, the human diversity framework encourages longitudinal studies as a means to thoroughly understand the research participants. This can be a costly process and also, with aging people, attrition may become significant.

The interview with the young man with a developmental disability was hampered by his inability to comprehend many of the questions he was asked. For example, he clearly did not understand the question, "Do you think there is a shared experience for people with disabilities?" It is impossible to understand the subjective experience of a person with a disability if the person with a disability is unable to share his/her feelings and ideas. The interview illustrates only the concise, concrete responses that can be collected from someone with his degree of mental disability. For him, mental disability can only be conceptualized as that "Can't do what other people can do like ride a bike." This information suggests that a qualitative interview may produce only limited information from a person with a developmental disability. One is then led to ask, "how can one empower persons with developmental disabilities, if one has difficulty collecting the subjective experience of those person?"

Despite the pragmatic issues associated with a diversity model, it is clear that there is some utility in applying the concept of human diversity to research involving a range of social and human conditions such as aging and disability.

Implications for Education and Research

As a main goal of the new human diversity concept is to reduce the marginalization of disenfranchised groups, it is important for educational psychologists to look for ways to incorporate diversity into the educational setting. Important questions include: How do we advocate for and empower people with disabilities, of color, of differing sexual orientation or of differing ethnicities within educational settings so that they are no longer marginal groups? As an example, sexual orientation is clearly still a taboo subject within the regular education.

Research and educational programs must strive to identify strengths of individuals within school systems and use those strengths to no longer identify people solely by their socially constructed deviance (Trickett et al., 1994, Rappaport, 1994). Further, research would benefit from methods of remediating difference (Trickett et al., 1994, Rappaport, 1994). Within a classroom, multiculturalism and diversity education would be needed to broaden students' experience and understanding of human diversity. Research may examine the adaptation of students of diverse ethnicities and the processes by which various ethnicities interact with within the learning environment.

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Pen Pals and the Writing Process: A Constructivist Exchange

Writing About Writing

Nancy L. Evans

This paper describes a pen pal letter exchange between thirty professional year education students in a language arts methodology course and a class of sixth graders. Both groups were involved in a writers' workshop approach to story writing and this set the context for the focus of the letter exchanges. Findings support the tenets of constructivist learning theory.

A sense of audience has been identified as a crucial aspect of the writer's progress (Fox, 1993; Graves, 1994). Yet often authors, regardless of age, have only a vague sense of who they are writing for and their writing lacks the impetus for meaningful communicative intent. The major objective of the pen pal letter exchange was to enhance the writing process through an authentic one-on-one exploration of the intricacies inherent in writing and publishing an original story. A constructivist view of learning posits "No longer is learning viewed as something that occurs solely in the individual. It is something we do together as we socially construct meaning from shared experiences" (Frazee and Rudnitski, 1995, p.7).

Setting the context

Two classes of students were involved in the pen pal letter writing exchange—a group of thirty Education students were matched one-to one with a class of sixth grade pupils. Both classes of students, university and sixth graders, had built models in small groups as part of a social studies project. The education students had constructed their models as an assignment in their social studies methodology class, the elementary pupils as a project in their study of France. The common assignment for both groups was to write a story based on some aspect of a model created in their classes.

Both classes were taught about the recursive stages in the writing process. The sixth grade teacher and I coordinated our teaching so that both groups were learning about and experimenting with similar stages in the writing process at the same points in time. We each required that our students write to their pen pals about their ongoing involvement in the writing process as they created their individual model-based stories. The project lasted for five weeks with letters exchanged twice per week. The letter writing exchange ended with a face-to-face meeting—an authors' celebration where the stories written were shared with their pen pals.

Objectives and Outcomes

At the outset of the pen pal project, both the grade six teacher and I met to explore our expectations for this endeavor. Our objectives had many similarities and are described below in tangent with excerpts from the letters exchanged.

1. Providing a non-contrived audience over an extended period of time. This was in contrast to the sixth graders' prior experiences with school assigned letter writing to a vague audience, lacking in a 'real life' context, letters written but not mailed or receiving a one-time response. The Education students, with only a few exceptions, had never corresponded with a pen pal and none had written to an unknown elementary school student. The notion of corresponding with a real person held appeal for both groups and, for the sixth graders, provided positive adult role models who embodied the message that letter and writing is valued, regardless of the age of the writer:

> Dear Eric,
>
> I am absolutely thrilled to write to you for a short while...
>
> Dear Jen,
>
> Hi, how are you? I used to have a pen pal who lived in Japan when I was your age...

2. Experiencing the writing process in each of the five stages—planning, drafting, revising, editing and publishing—and realizing that the process is recursive and takes time. Through sharing their experiences with each other, clarity in understanding the stages from each other's point of view provided valuable insights and impetus for the story writing undertaken by each student.

Ms. H. wrote to her pen pal reinforcing the central intent of the planning stage:

> ...In class, my professor gave us time to plan what we wanted to write a story about. I spent most of this time writing down as many ideas as I could think of. Once I decided on an idea for my story, I began to draft my thoughts in my notebook. I just wrote down whatever came into my mind! It was messy, but that is alright because it is just a rough copy...

That "the draft is temporary.." (Graves, 1994, p.249) is a challenging concept for both school and university students. Much correspondence reflected the fact that subsequent drafts served to refine the story being written and additionally underscored this labor intensive aspect of being an author:

> Dear Mark,
>
> ...The last time I wrote, I was working on a story set in ancient Greece...But I was really not happy with how it was turning out. I felt that I couldn't make the characters come alive. So I scrapped that one and started over again....So far, it's working out much better and I feel much happier with it...
>
> Dear Mandy,
>
> ...With drafting, there can be so many paths for the story to take. It is sometimes difficult to decide which would be the best way to go. I wonder how to make the adventure exciting for the character and for the reader. How do you decide...

As the two classes of authors were introduced to the revision conference concept, the Education students again focussed their pen pal letters by reinforcing a mutual understanding of the process:

> Dear Sara,
>
> ...My friend listened to my story and suggested a few areas to work on. She also gave me some good ideas to include in my story. Now that I have more ideas, my next step will be to revise my work...

Editing of their written work proved to be the most onerous task for the sixth graders. Letters from their university counterparts set a positive and supportive tone.

> Dear Mark,
>
> ...I think it's great that you are so interested in the editing process...Checking for spelling can be the most challenging part of editing. I keep a dictionary close at hand whenever I write stories. Whenever I am not sure how to spell a word (which can happen quite often!) I reach for my dictionary and look it up...
>
> Publishing of their completed stories, in preparation for the two classes meeting each other, proved to be a common goal as illustrated in Ms. K's enthusiasm for her own story and her encouraging words to her pen pal:
>
> Dear Angela,
>
> ...How is your story coming along? I can hardly wait to read it. Did you complete the dedication and the cover? Binding your story really puts the finishing touch on the writing process. A feeling of accomplishment accompanies the binding process. You must be feeling very proud of yourself for completing and publishing your story. I know I sure did when mine was published...

Ms. W.'s pride in her publication provided a role model for an author's proud moment:

> Dear Nadia,
>
> ...Well, my story is published. I did it a little differently than usual. I made my pages look like they were old and a little longer than a regular book. Then I rolled the pages like a scroll and tied it with a red ribbon. I must admit I was quite pleased with how my book looked when it was finished...

3. Realizing a sense of responsibility especially in the case of reluctant writers—your pen pal in the other class is expecting a letter from you:

> Dear Rob,
>
> Thanks for your letter. It was great to get it. I know that someone in my class didn't receive a letter last time and she was quite disappointed...
>
> Dear Ms. D.
>
> I am verey (sic) sorry that you didn't recevie (sic) your letter sooner. The reason for that is because I kept on forgetting it at home...

An additional insight was gleaned in terms of how seriously the Education students viewed this project. Although rare, there were instances of a casual *"I didn't have time to write my letter"* as well as examples of not responding to a pen pal's request: *"I do not have a recent picture of myself..."*..Much more evident, though, was a sense of thorough engagement in the form of photographs of self and family, decorated stationary, an enclosed friendship bracelet, bookmark and stickers.

4. Learning about letter writing protocol. The sixth graders were introduced to a basic pen pal correspondence format: introduction, compliment, personal information, ask and answer questions posed, comments on their writing process and a closure. Legible handwriting and thoughtful editing, along with the mechanics of addressing an envelope and folding a letter, were introduced and reinforced in the letter writing sessions.

The Education students adopted a teacher persona in their correspondence although one signed his letter using his first name: Sincerely, Josh., and were aware, in varying degrees, of the need for modeling new learning and reflecting the use of standard English. Errors in spelling and usage provided an additional source of information to address in the language arts methodology classes: the use of its/it's and the importance of standard spelling, for example, Congratulations, Leanne!

5. Providing the teacher education students with actual experiences in understanding the range of abilities and affect in a typical class of sixth graders. Letters from their pen pals were exchanged in class and excerpts illustrative of current language arts methodology learning were identified and shared with the whole group.

Findings and concluding remarks

Clarifying the writing process and further refining one's writing through a pen pal letter exchange served to underscore the relevance of a constructivist view of learning. Story writing and writing about writing over the course of the pen pal project supports a constructivist theory of learning and understanding—meaning is personally constructed by individuals as they assimilate new experiences in ways that are meaningful to them. One comes to know, in other words, by inventing understanding. The meaning making was encouraged and supported through the pen pal letter exchanges as both the Education students and the sixth graders questioned and confirmed their unfolding understandings of the writing process. There is growing acknowledgement that active involvement is a key factor in the construction of new learning. The pen pal letter exchange reinforced and refined current learning by immersing both classes of students, sixth graders and teacher education, in an interactive clarification of the intricacies of the writing process. A real life audience for their exchange of correspondence benefited both groups of writers and contributed to enhanced knowing in the areas of building a pen pal relationship, encouraging reluctant writers, experiencing first hand the stages of the writing process, and recognizing the range of abilities in a grade six classroom.

Some unexpected insights

I close with three unanticipated findings—new learning that contributed to the Education students', the sixth grade teacher's and my ongoing and growing awareness of the need for educators to consider their roles as continual learners. A constructivist view contends that we each view the world through the lens of our own previous experiences—a view now expanded and augmented as a result the pen pal project involvement.

1. The sixth graders writing, both the pen pal correspondence and their stories, reflected the pervasive influence of television and other media—monsters, fires, natural disasters, poisonous peas and references to the devil were examples of elements woven into their writing:

> Dear Marshall,
>
> ...When you asked for some ideas for your story, I started thinking about it. If you want it to be a Lois and Clark adventure, maybe you could use an apartment in Paris as your setting. Or maybe a French farmhouse or château' in the country could be your setting. If you did that, then you could work in details about French housing...

> Dear Ms. R.
>
> My story is not coming along very well...Right now all I've got to is where the mad bomer (sic) is talking and thats (sic) about a pharagraph (sic) long...

2. Some of the sixth graders' parents voiced concerns and sometimes wariness about their child becoming friendly, and exchanging letters and photographs, with an unknown adult. The realities of child safety and child custody attest to the importance of keeping students' parents fully informed as to the intent and duration of a project such as this.

3. Many of the sixth graders were reluctant to terminate the pen pal project and were determined to exchange home phone numbers and addresses. Both classes had to be reminded that the final letters were to say good-bye and that once the two classes had met face-to-face, our letter exchange was over:

> Dear Mr. B.
>
> Thank you very much for being my buddy. I enjoyed being yours. It was wonderful meeting you and it was also wonderful having you share your model and story with me...Right now I am working on another story called Trapped Forever...Well, time is almost up so I better go now, bye and thank you...

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Gender as a Moderator of the Relationship between Social Support and Adaptation among Asian International Students

Janine J. Fernandes

The purpose of this study was to investigate the degree to which the relationship between social support and adaptation among Asian international students is moderated by gender. Subjects, 37 females and 33 males were administered measures of perceived support, individual orientation towards support and adaptation to university. In addition, interviews were conducted with 6 males and 5 females from several Asian countries. Results indicated females scored significantly higher on measures of perceived support from confidants, as well as academic adjustment. However, gender was not found to be a significant predictor of other measures of university adaptation. A positive network orientation was determined to be the main predictor of successful adaptation. The results of this study have valuable implication for providers of services to international students.

Introduction

The broadening of cultural horizons has always been one of the roles of universities. However, it has only been in recent years that the internationalization of post-secondary education has begun to number high on the list of priorities of Canadian universities (Berry, 1991). The appeal of internationalization with respect to post-secondary education is manifold, from equipping graduates with the skills necessary to survive in a more diverse environment, to offering institutions economic rewards and competitive advantages (Berry, 1991). In the race towards internationalization however, the needs of international students cannot be overlooked. In fact, given the enormous fees paid by international students, as well as the difficult obstacles these students face in coming to a foreign country, a supportive infrastructure will become the deciding factor in an international student's decision of which country and more specifically, which institution to attend.

The adjustment difficulties faced by international students as a whole have been well documented, however little attention has been paid to gender-differential outcomes. Literature substantiating the importance of social support to the process of adaptation is replete, as are studies, in a general context, which have examined gender differences in the utilization, receipt and effects of support during times of stress (Flaherty & Richman, 1989; Kaczmarek, Matlock, Merta, Ames & Ross, 1995; Wohlgemuth & Betz, 1991). It is however, unclear how the interplay between gender, social support and adaptation is affected when cultural variables, in particular those contrasting Western perspectives, are added to the equation.

In addressing the current study, two investigations are particularly noteworthy. A study by Manese, Sedlacek and Leong (1988) was conducted to examine differences in the needs and perceptions of male and female undergraduate international students from a variety of countries. The results of this study reported sex differences, with women expecting to have a harder time, being more easily discouraged, and questioning their self-efficacy more than men. In a similar vein, an investigation by Mallinkrodt and Leong (1992) on stress and social support of international graduate students, found that, in comparison to males, females students experienced increased stress, exhibited more stress symptoms and were less satisfied with social support received from family and academic departments. Hence, these studies provide grounding for the study at hand.

The present investigation takes one step further and addresses country-specific considerations. Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal & Lucca (1988) suggest that the primary distinction among cultures occurs along the collectivism-individualism divide. As such, one must be cognizant of the impact of the culture on the resulting findings. Specifically, given the interdependent nature of Asian countries, as well as the reliance on very few important in-groups, the significant role played by family, as well a greater need for affiliation among these individuals, cannot be overlooked.

This study was undertaken to investigate the relationship between social support and adaptation among male and female Asian international students at the University of Victoria. Specific research questions were:

(1) Are there significant differences between male and female Asian international students on measures of adaptation, perceived social support and network orientation?

(2) Which variables are most useful in predicting the adaptation success of male and female international students?

Sample

Thirty-three males and 37 females participated in this study. Participants were Asian international students enrolled in full-time undergraduate studies at the University of Victoria. Twenty-four percent of the respondents were between the ages of 17-24,

45.7% between 22-24, and 30.0% were older than 24. Forty-two percent of the respondents were from Japan, 27 % from Hong Kong, and 13% from Indonesia. Other countries represented were China, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand and Macao.

The majority of participants (85%) had been in Canada for over three years. Twenty-three percent of respondents had attended UVic for less than a year, 40% between one to two years, 27% between two to three years, 8.6% between three to four years, and 1.4% for four years. With respect to program of study, 53% of respondents were enrolled in the Faculty of Business and 41% in the Faculty of Arts and Science. Other faculties represented (6.0%) included Engineering and Human and Social Development. Eighty-four percent of the respondents indicated that they had been enrolled at another institution outside their home country before attending UVic.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through classroom visits, on-campus Asian and international clubs and advertisements. Participants completed a questionnaire package that included a background information form, the Student Adaptation to College Questionnaire (Baker & Siryk, 1989), the Network Orientation Scale (Vaux, Burda & Stewart, 1986) and the Multi-dimensional Support Scale (Winefield, Winefield & Tiggeman, 1992).

The package took approximately 30 minutes to complete. In addition, 6 males and 5 females from the original sample volunteered to participant in a 30-minute interview.

Measures

Student Adaptation to College Questionnaire.

The Student Adaptation to College Questionnaire consists of a 67-item self-report scale divided into four sub-scales: academic adjustment, social adjustment, personal-emotional adjustment and goal commitment/institutional adjustment (Baker & Siryk, 1987). The academic subscale is composed of items pertaining to educational demand characteristics of the university experience. The social subscale refers to interpersonal and societal demands associated with university adjustment. The personal-emotional subscale reflects students' psychological and physical states. The institutional subscale describes the relationship between the student and the institution.

Multidimensional Support Scale

The Multi-Dimensional Support Scale is composed of 19 items designed to measure the frequency and satisfaction of social support from confidants, peers and supervisors (Winefield, Winefield & Tiggeman, 1992). For the purposes of this study, "confidant" was defined as family and close friends, "peers" as other same-aged students, and supervisors as faculty members and advisors. Calculating the product of support frequency and support satisfaction derived a measure of perceived support.

Network Orientation Scale

The Network Orientation Scale was developed to measure negative network orientation or, the perspective that it is inadvisable, useless or risky to seek help from others (Vaux, Burda & Stewart, 1986). Positive network orientations have been found to be significantly correlated with nurturance, affiliation, trust and a feminine sex-role orientation. Negative network orientations have been found to be related to smaller support networks, less available supportive behaviours and less positive appraisals of support (Vaux et al., 1986).

Results

Questionnaire data

Questionnaire data was analyzed using SPSS 6.1.3 for Windows. To address the first research question, a series of independent t-tests were conducted to compare males and females on all dependent and independent measures. Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for the scores of the scales administered in the study, reflecting gender differences.

As shown, females reported significantly higher perceived support from confidants than did males. Females also showed greater academic adjustment than males.

The second research question in this study sought to describe the variables predictive of adaptation among Asian international students. Of specific interest was whether or not the relationship between social support and adaptation would be moderated by gender. In order to answer this question, a series of multiple regression analyses were conducted.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Scores on Measures of Frequency of Support, Satisfaction with Support, Network Orientation and Adaptation

	Males (n = 33)		Females (n=37)		
Construct	M	SD	M	SD	t
Perceived Support					
Confidants	337.2	121.5	433.6	98.5	3.7**
Peers	190.5	83.9	200.5	93.1	0.47
Supervisors	156.9	92.8	162.1	90.8	0.24
Total	684.5	236.6	769.3	180.8	2.2*
Network Orientation[a]	45.9	5.79	45.0	5.35	0.68
Adaptation					
Full	375.5	55.8	387.5	45.7	0.99
Academic	129.5	20.4	139.5	20.0	2.1*
Institutional	92.1	13.8	92.4	12.6	0.11
Social	105.4	20.8	104.1	19.7	0.28
Personal	84.2	18.8	85.7	16.7	0.35

[a] Higher scores indicate a more negative network orientation. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.001$

The results of the standard multiple regression analysis revealed that, taken together, network orientation, confidant support, peer support and supervisor support accounted for 19% of the variance in academic adjustment, 38% of the variance in social adjustment, 14% of the variance in personal-emotional adjustment, 40% of the variance in institutional adjustment and 34% of the variance in full adjustment. When each of the independent variables were considered for its unique effect on adaptation, after controlling for the other four variables, only network orientation had a significant effect on all five adjustment measures. Table 2 shows the results of the multiple regression analysis with network orientation entered on step 2. It is important to note that gender was not a significant predictor in any of the five regression models.

Interview Data

Four major themes were derived from the interview data. These themes are: (a) choice in the decision to study abroad, (b) parental influences, (c) independence, and (d) home country readjustment.

Table 2

Results of the Stepwise Multiple Regressions Showing the Unique Contribution of Network Orientation

Criterion	R	R2	F	b	sr2	t
Academic	0.44	0.19	3.0*	0.31	0.08	2.6*
Social	0.62	0.38	8.0**	0.58	0.28	5.5**
Personal-Emotional	0.37	0.14	2.0	0.33	0.09	2.6*
Institutional	0.63	0.40	8.6**	0.67	0.38	6.5**
Full	0.58	0.34	6.4**	0.53	0.25	4.9**

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.001$

Choice in the decision to study abroad

All but one of the participants indicated that the choice to study abroad was either a personal one or a joint decision made with parents. The one interviewee who indicated that his father made the choice, reported the lowest adjustment scores of the entire study sample. Many of interviewees indicated that the ability to adjust was a reflection of choice.

Parental Influences

All participants reported parents as strong influencers in their lives. However, in comparison to males, relationship with family emerged more consistently among female participants, who stressed the encouragement received from parents to study abroad, as well as their family's open-mindedness and liberal attitudes.

Independence

Independence emerged as a common thread running through all the interviews. All participants reported greater freedom and independence as a primary feature distinguishing Canada from their home country. Independence with respect to physical separation from family was also noted among the majority of participants. However, the notion of personal freedom and individualism had a stronger influence on females than it did on males.

Home country readjustment

In addressing home country readjustment, while males recognized the common challenges of reacquainting with friends, family and aspect of their culture, all five women alluded to the specific challenge of being a female influenced by Western mentality. Phrases such as, "not being strong enough", "fighting back", "betraying oneself", and not being able to "meet the expectations of their home country" arose frequently in the discourse of women.

Discussion

If one entertains the notion that the decision of an Asian female to pursue full-time studies in a Western country is a non-traditional one, then their situation can be likened to that of a female choosing to enter into a non-traditional occupation. As such, much of the research on the career psychology of women can be used to explain the results of this study. An integrative summary of the literature on women's career psychology can be found in Betz and Fitzgerald (1987).

Within the Betz et al. (1987) review, one of the background factors facilitative of women's career development is the influence of parents. As reported in this study, females showed greater support frequency and satisfaction from confidants, than did males.

Betz et al. (1987) also identify individual factors including instrumentality, an androgynous personality, strong academic self-concept and high ability. The findings with respect to strong academic self-concept and high ability are also consistent with the results of this study, which indicate gender differences in the domain of academic adjustment, in favour of females.

Aside from academic adjustment, no gender differences were found in the other areas of adaptation. One explanation is that these women exhibit a more androgynous and instrumental character. Relating this assumption to women's non-traditional career choices, Abdalla (1994) proposes that instrumentality in non-traditional occupations is required in countries where great socio-political barriers would be faced. Another explanation for the lack of gender differences on measures of university adaptation, with the exception of academic adjustment, relates to theories of role constraint, which suggest that "when sources of stress are held constant, most gender differences in coping disappear." (Rosario, Shinn, Morch, & Huckabee, 1988)

A second finding in this study is that, while network orientation was found to be the main predictor of adaptation among Asian international students, significant differences in network orientation between males and females were not detected. This observation is curious, given the significant correlation between network orientation and femininity that has previously been documented (Vaux et al., 1986). The initial implication of this finding is that either: 1) female Asian international students exhibit more masculine qualities or 2) male Asian international students display more feminine characteristics. Although, not unreasonable, these assumptions, when viewed through a cross-cultural lens, may be construed in a highly ethnocentric light, in favour of a Western perspective. Alternatively, from the viewpoint of a collective society, the construct of network orientation may simply be a function of the extent to which the culture embraces interdependence. The present point highlights the dilemma s arising when cross-cultural studies are undertaken.

Conclusions

One of the limitations of this study is the non-randomness of the sample. It is likely that the individuals who responded to the request for participants are reflective of the more social and well-adjusted segment of the international student population. Unfortunately, it is possible that the individuals experiencing the greatest difficulties with support and adaptation may never be found. In interpreting the results of this study, one must also bear in mind the influences of age and prior college attendance on resulting adjustment to university.

Future research in this area could involve a longitudinal study examining the adjustment difficulties of males and females, prior to leaving their home country, during their international experience and upon returning home, particularly to non-western countries. A more in-depth examination of personality characteristics as well as types of support received among male and female international students would be fruitful, as well as a comparison of full-time versus exchange experiences. Finally, a word of caution is advised in making generalizations among different Asian countries, as well as in employing constructs and measures that may reflect ethnocentric biases.

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A Biographical Exploration of School and Community

Carol Harris

History tells us about our past, in order that we may understand the context for our own action. There are those in every age who urge us to put the past behind us, arguing that present-day problems call for innovative and previously untried approaches. To a degree, of course, contexts do differ from place to place and time to time. But the study of history, through an examination of educators' lives, reminds us of continuities as well as change and, in doing so, offers guidelines for action (Bowers, 1987).

Biography as History

Several well-founded claims are made for biography as a teaching tool. The genre presents a life in the context of culture and events, suggests intricacies of motivation, and links public action with private lives (English, 1995; Kohli, 1981). It allows readers to examine the past in order to apply its more positive features to the present, and plan imaginatively for the future. In a present-day context, historically embedded biographies provide antidotes to messages of crises — be these of an educational or economic nature — and to the general aura of technological determinism (McQuaig, 1998). Often, a glance backward in time reveals that contemporary problems do not dictate a single best way forward. Rather, similar problems with slight modifications have appeared before and have been overcome successfully.

The use of biographical studies and life histories as teaching resources accompanies the recent re-examination of interpretive and narrative approaches to educational research (English, 1995; Middleton, 1993). New approaches to teaching and research can be attributed, in part, to feminist and postmodern theory and practice which emphasize such features as rich descriptions of events and contexts, voices from the margins of educational experience, and multiple ways of viewing the world according to class, gender, race and ethnicity. Biography has begun to make an impact on the general area of leadership studies — strange that it was not always so — although we tend to see quite different emphases between the study of great men (English, 1995; Gronn & Ribbins, 1996) conducted by men and the study by women of the lives of classroom and community leaders (Dillard, 1995; Reynolds & Young, 1995).

The possibilities for generalization from biography are extensive for, as Bertaux (1981) points out,

> everybody can read life stories and appropriate for himself [sic] the bits of knowledge that each one contains. Through life stories
>
> — not just any, raw life story, for it takes hard work to put them into readable form ... people are able to communicate to one another, through the mediation of sociology (p. 44).

Bertaux (1981) adds, however, that "this mediation should not be one of mere transmission". The scholar of life histories should go beyond description, to cast light upon "patterns of social relations, their contradictions, their historical movement" (p. 44). I agree with Bertaux concerning the usefulness of interpretation and its very necessity for, in all research, we interpret the world around us by the questions we ask and the features we attend to and record. My own belief is that, for teaching purposes, rich description is sufficient. In qualitative work, such details as the actors' motivation, commitment, interaction with others, and their reflection on events allow students to do the work of analysis. In this paper, I relate a single aspect of one Nova Scotia woman's leadership, her involvement in Home and School associations, to the present day rhetoric surrounding school councils (equivalent to parent advisory councils in British Columbia). This rhetoric speaks of mandated organizations as innovative, as responding to the discovery that parental involvement in schools is beneficial to children's achievement (e.g. Epstein, 1991), and as increasing the "ability of parents and school personnel to ... make schools more responsive to the demands of their environment" (Rideout, 1995, p. 12). In the university classroom, I intend to share my interpretations with students only after they make their own connections.

The Study: Focus and Design

From 1992 to 1997 (aided financially by SSHRCC and two university grants), I studied the life and times of a well-known educational leader, Dr. Elizabeth (Betty) Murray. Betty, whose life as an active educator spanned the years 1940 - 1996, was a highly innovative teacher in a one-room rural school, a liaison between education students and community groups for Acadia University, a pioneer in her province's newly formed Division of Adult Education, a teacher in a racially mixed, inner-city school and, in "retirement", the author and director of 15 history plays for and about the people of her community. While Betty considered herself to be a generalist teacher, others remember her as a choral leader who used music with children and adults alike as the basis of her teaching. With music, she generated communicative spaces within communities the way other adult educators in the Maritimes used study clubs and political discussion groups. Through her private and public actions, she influenced many people — several in their professional lives and others in their artistic choices and community involvement (Harris, in press).

Data collection for this study involved me in ethnographic research over three summers as I lived in Betty's home and took part in her annual history plays. Other information was gathered from extensive document searches and from interviews with more than 90 of Murray's former students, fellow-teachers, and colleagues.

Betty Murray's history encompasses two types of community — first, the traditional one at mid-century, where people were bonded by family ties, religion, and fairly similar views of the world and, second, the much more diverse community of today, where people come together for specific purposes, such as formal work or social and cultural projects (Tonnies, 1955). Bonds and values formed in the purposeful community tend to be far more transitory than those of the traditional setting. While many people today prefer to escape the confines of living in tightly knit communities (Young, 1990), the general exodus from rural settings has brought problems. One is the modern (some would say "postmodern") loss of faith and trust, or what Weber (1968) has referred to as the "disenchantment of the world". Another inheres in the profound questioning of all that was once considered necessary and of value to societal coherence (MacIntyre, 1981) and its replacement by a collective belief in the efficiencies of organizational restructuring and technological innovation. Much of our energy in schools is directed to alleviating features of alienation that arise from this gradual drift from traditional to highly rationalized settings.

In outlining Betty's leadership in school and community, I identify several themes that invite a reexamination of educational discourse and practice today: interactions between schools and their communities; teachers as leaders in their communities as well as in their schools; and holistic learning that includes people of all ages in the fine arts as well as in dialogical communication. While each issue can be considered separately for heuristic purposes they are, in practice, inextricably intertwined.

The Meaning of School and Community

Betty Murray, a graduate of Mount Allison University, was one of very few elementary teachers to enter the Nova Scotia Provincial Normal College (PNC) with a university degree. The PNC, however, was considered to be the most up-to-date place for teachers interested in teaching elementary grade levels. She and other graduates from the PNC in the 1940s understood teaching to extend beyond school duties, to the community of adults.

One of Betty's first moves as a teacher was to build from private donations a small permanent library. She also asked the Travelling Librarian who worked for the province to supply her with as many books-on-loan as could be spared. Betty circulated this initial supply among her students, and she invited community members in for a Friday "adult" night. According to Betty, this was more of a "social event than a learning experience". Nevertheless, it introduced parents and friends to the school and made it a part of their lives.

Throughout her career, Betty brought children and adults together in common projects. At Tarbet, her one-room school in Colchester County, one such project was to "beautify" the school and its grounds. While some students during term time planted shrubs, others designed steps and a walkway, and mixed and poured cement. Adult "volunteers" and smaller children spent one long hot summer painting the school and clearing brush. The children made other community contacts through visits to the elderly (for Christmas caroling), presenting concerts, and taking part in the music festival in the far-off town of Truro (30 miles by dirt road over the Cobequid Hills).

Betty's community work, and the singing children of Tarbet, gained the attention of school inspectors and other educators of the day. Professors at the PNC brought their students to observe her classes where children "learned by doing". These activities eventually led Dr. Mortimer Marshall from Acadia University to invite Betty to help him deliver his course in School and Community. This program of Dr. Marshall operated under the assumption that teachers, to effectively reach their students, must become intimately knowledgeable about and involved with the social, economic, and cultural needs of their school catchment. Betty's task was to organize study groups throughout eastern Kings County and to arrange for each education student to prepare materials and lead a group of his choice. While the students worked with discussion groups of farmers, and with people who wanted to explore their own history, Betty herself each night of the week directed a different community choir.

While Betty Murray was establishing an outreach for education students at Acadia, Guy Henson in Halifax was laying the foundations for a provincial Adult Education Division of the Department of Education. The year was 1945, servicemen were returning from the War, and the people of Nova Scotia had not recovered fully from the Depression years. Since the 1920s, socially active priests from the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University had proven that adults, given some practical guidance and the freedom to name their own needs, could organize themselves economically, socially, and politically.

Henson (1946), following the lead of these educators,[1] identified several potential learning tools for rural populations. These included discussion groups based on topics identified by the people, cooperative links among already established organizations, and residential folkschools (on a Danish model) that had been tested in other places and were seen to successfully develop leadership skills. The emphasis on adult education would facilitate; it was felt the kind of democracy only possible through wide participation by a well-informed citizenry, capable of placing in proper perspective the political claims of the day. Also, learning must have an affective dimension for, as Dr. Moses Coady from Antigonish contended, "it must excite people's hearts as well as their minds" (Laidlaw, 1971).

Henson, noting that Betty Murray seemed to be exciting hearts in the Annapolis Valley as she worked successfully through organizations like the Women's Institute and discussion groups for the CBC Farm Radio Forum, asked her to become the Division's first Regional Representative. This idea appealed to Betty and to Dr. Marshall immensely; she would continue on the same path at Acadia and her role with the Division was to try new approaches, consolidate her successes, and take part in rural community folkschools, and report back to her colleagues in Halifax.

Federation of Home and School Associations

Betty Murray's work at Acadia and through the Adult Education Division dovetailed smoothly with the province's growing Home and School movement. The Home and School which had its roots in the early 1900s had, by mid-century, some 20,000 people in 500 associations in Nova Scotia alone. An assumption of the Home and School, in keeping with the concept of life-long learning was that parents as well as teachers needed to know how children develop so that they too could identify helpful approaches and influences. For this reason, the Division established in 1946 a Parent Education Service and offered for many years study sessions and short courses on parenting.

Just as educators from the Division worked with other organizations, Home and School personnel for their projects almost always joined forces with various arts committees, church and community groups, and government agencies. Muriel Duckworth, who later became well-known nationally as a peace activist, for example, served as president of the provincial Home and School Association and, at the same time, was employed jointly by the Adult Education Division and the Department of Health (Kerans, 1996). In a similar vein, Betty's work was interwoven among various organizations and overlapped constantly with Home and School projects. One of these was the music festival movement, sponsored by the Home and School both on a local and provincial basis. Betty served on syllabi committees, prepared teachers and students for performances in some areas of the province and, in others, acted as an adjudicator.

Each year various Home and School associations identified people who were involved in the arts in their own communities and provided scholarships for them to attend the provincial School of Community Arts. These schools, staffed by leading Canadian and British educators as well as by members of the Department of Education, began in 1947 in Hubbards, re-locating for their duration (from 1956 to 1968) to Betty's home village of Tatamagouche. Patterned on the two-week residential folkschool, they focused on drama, visual arts, music, and dance. The objective was to develop leaders in the arts who would, in turn, influence others in their communities.

This senior School of Community Arts led, in turn, to the Home and School's most significant artistic contribution: the Junior School of the Arts. In 1958, during Muriel Duckworth's presidency, a summer program was initiated for the province's youth. Around a lakeside recreational site, students studied intensively for ten days choral techniques, opera, drama, dance, and art. Their teachers, one of who was Betty Murray, held leadership objectives similar to those of the senior school. The young people, through a combination of skill development, study sessions, and small discussion groups, were learning to lead and participate in community action.

The Federation of Home and Schools and its various local associations supported a wide range of projects including better library services, more equitable racial relations (Nova Scotia has large black and Mi'kmaq populations), improvement of school grounds and facilities, and enhanced parenting. While this last issue — the effect of parenting on student well being — concentrates on the individual child, most Home and School issues had a social or collective focus.

Summary and Conclusion

For Betty Murray and the educators who worked with her at mid-century, the community was seen to be an influential force equal to that of the home, school, and church (Henson, 1954, p.13). The Federation of Home and School Associations was the umbrella organization that brought these three together. Many assumptions, held in common by members of the Federation, had significant implications for the manner in which teachers would be prepared for the role they were to play in their communities. A few of these, shared with the adult educators, were that:

- To teach children, apart from the context of their families and social milieu, was a mission doomed to failure;
- Teachers needed to receive instruction (courses) in community participation for the leadership roles they were expected to play;
- A knowledge of adult education was required of teachers; and
- To do their jobs well, teachers needed broadly based knowledge, appropriate teaching methods, and a "democratic social philosophy" (Dr. Coady in Laidlaw, 1971).

The primary focus was on a professionalism that would place teachers in the leadership role for which they had prepared themselves. In the spirit of democracy, it was felt that community projects, to be useful to the group as well as to the individual person, must include everyone who was willing, or who could be persuaded, to participate. The insistence of Dr. Coady (a provincial president of the Home and School) on a "democratic society" embraces an important and popularly held concept of the Social Gospel[2]: that all people deserve economic justice, as well as spiritual care.

Betty Murray demonstrated a particularly proactive approach to attracting people to organizations. She did not wait for people to volunteer; rather, she approached them directly and insistently. She convinced many people, otherwise too shy or too modest to participate that they had something of great value to offer. She felt that this stance was necessary in order to bring together blue-collar as well as white-collar workers, women as well as men, and minority people as well as members of socially and economically dominant groups.

Although I have presented positive features of traditional thought, Nova Scotians in the 1940s faced many serious social and economic problems. Gender representation was uneven. Although Betty Murray and a few other single women assumed leadership roles in education, most educational leaders of the day were men. Another problem concerned race relations which, at best, could be described as paternalistic and, in many cases, were fiercely discriminatory. Betty, far from nostalgic about the past, in her senior years embraced each modern innovation that she felt would benefit her community of Tatamagouche. She led her community choir in its annual spring performance just two weeks before her death in 1996 and, that year, served on six local committees. If she were still with us, she would gladly take her seat on the local school council.

This paper, framed by the events of Murray's life, has examined one issue that was familiar at mid-century and is still hotly debated today

— the link between the school and its community. While school councils and the success of parental involvement tend to be presented as contemporary innovations and discoveries, Murray's story tells of Canadian Home and School movements at mid-century that involved parents and community members from a wide range of social backgrounds in improving not only the educational and social welfare of children, but also in initiating music festivals, speech and essay contests, and residential schools of the arts. Such activities lead us to reflect upon the nature of leadership and holistic learning, as well as the perennial desire of parents to become involved in education.

A marked difference between the aims of the Home and School movement and those of today's school councils lies in the latter's emphasis on individual, as opposed to collective, rights and responsibilities. There is a very real danger that, with the current promotion of what Smith (1998) terms "economic fundamentalism" — with its emphases on greater parental "choice", public decision-making powers over curriculum, and a discourse of market competition — we will lean ever more closely as a society to C.B. Macpherson's (1969) "possessive individualism". While communities have evolved considerably as sites for the realization of utilitarian and economic purposes, there are lessons to be learned from an earlier time. Stories like Betty Murray's may remind those of us who are involved in school councils to protect the balance between individual needs and societal goods. They may also inspire us to devise novel meeting points where adults and children may pool their talents and experience mutually beneficial projects. The encouraging point is that the need for community that we experience now has been felt, and met successfully, by others in the past.

Notes

1 Activities of Extension workers from St. Francis Xavier University, led in the 1920s by the Rev. Drs. M. M. Coady and Jimmy Tompkins, became known as the Antigonish Movement. The Coady International Institute at the University continues the movement's outreach today.

2 The Social Gospel, which began in the late 1800s and permeated to some extent each branch of organized Christianity, spoke unequivocally to church leaders of their responsibility to eliminate the roots of human misery found in social and economic injustice.

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Teacher-Centered Projects: Confidence, Risk Taking and Flexible Thinking (Mathematics)

Werner W. Liedtke

The framework of the new mathematics curriculum includes willingness to take risks and growth in tolerance of ambiguity as goals of mathematics learning. What might teachers do to reach these important goals? The results from two projects provide a few hints for possible action.

Introduction

The *Mathematics K to 7—Integrated Resource Package—IRP* (Ministry of Education 1995), states that becoming mathematically literate involves developing a positive attitude. According to the IRP, research from provincial assessments has emphasized the direct association between students' attitudes and their levels of performance. It is suggested that, "Mathematics activities should engage the interest and imagination of all students so that they are willing to take risks, grow in their tolerance of ambiguity, and achieve high levels of development in their mathematical thinking" (p. 2). Willingness to take risks requires a high level of confidence.

The framework of the IRP identifies one of the major goals of mathematics teaching as developing mathematical literacy. Three components of this goal include developing positive attitudes, becoming mathematical problem solvers and reasoning mathematically. Greenwood (1993) includes the following notions as part of mathematical thinking and mathematical power: "when a strategy you are using is not working, you should be willing to try another strategy instead of giving up" and, "you should be able to extend, or change, a problem situation by posing additional conditions or questions" (p. 144). Standard 10 in the Curriculum and Evaluation Standards (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics,1989) identifies the following components of mathematical disposition, "willingness to persevere in mathematical tasks" and "flexibility in exploring mathematical ideas and trying alternative methods in solving problems" (p. 233). These references indicate that flexibility is an important part of mathematical literacy.

The studies reported in this paper focus on two main questions:

A. *What can a teacher do to foster the development of confidence?*

B. *What type of classroom settings, tasks and discussions might make contributions to reaching this important goal?*

The Projects

In order to try to find answers to questions A and B, two long term projects were planned; one for grade one, the other for grade six and/or seven. A small grant was received from Education Renewal. This money was used to pay for teachers-on-call while meetings were held throughout the school year.

Four teachers were contacted prior to the 1996/97 school year. Personal reasons and an assignment of a new grade were responsible for two negative responses. Meetings during the summer with one primary and one intermediate teacher were used to introduce the questions, share relevant background information and discuss possible actions. After an agreement to proceed was reached, permission was sought by the teachers and granted from the Victoria School Board.

It was planned that the activities in the classrooms were to be teacher-directed, without any major or special contributions connected to teaching from any person. Activities were to be based on materials that were part of the classroom setting. Any assessment instruments or strategies were to be of the kind and type available to every classroom teacher. Any outside assistance was to be in terms of coordination and provision of resources. Regular meetings were planned to look-back, to discuss progress and to plan for the month ahead. During the final meeting the collected data were examined and tabulated. Possible ways of sharing the procedures and results were discussed.

Project A—Confidence and Risk Taking.

The first glance at the make-up of the grade one class indicated that assistance would be required for part of this project. Although it would be possible to carry out the planned observations to identify students who were unwilling to take risks during the first part of the year, several special needs and quite a few ESL students put a very heavy demand on preparation and teaching time. Assistance would be required for the second part that involved the presentation of activities to these students. Fortunately, a very capable work study student, a senior in the Faculty of Education, became a valuable member of the project team. This student assisted with the observations, helped with the collecting of relevant information, and presented activities, to students in various settings.

By the end of November six students, three boys and three girls, were identified as being reluctant and/or unwilling to take risks. Their level of confidence seemed to dictate a reluctance to participate in discussion, not to volunteer information, nor to raise a hand to ask for more information. Further observations and follow-up discussions were used to ensure that this apparent lack of confidence was not confused with reflective behavior.

A conclusion from an article entitled, *First-and Second-Grade Students Communicate Mathematics* (Spungin, 1996) became the framework for the tasks or activities that were collected and presented. The author concludes that tasks with multiple solutions or methods of solution promote curiosity, demonstrate respect for all ideas by encouraging contributions from all students, since they are best in stimulating discussion, debate, creativity and risk-taking. The author provides several examples of activities that conclude by making the following suggestions to students: *Think again. Is another answer possible?* For the tasks that became part of this project this approach was revised to: *What is another possible answer?* or *What other answers are possible?* The main goal was to communicate to the students that, *Whatever you do or whatever you say is correct, as long as you can explain and provide a reason for what you are doing or what you have done.*

Once, or twice a week if the classroom setting warranted, the selected activities were presented to the six students who would work in one large group or smaller groups of two or three. Whenever possible, sample reactions and responses that were suggestive of risk taking were noted and recorded. Those recordings as well as reflections about these recordings became part of the discussion during the meetings.

Changes in behaviour were observed, especially in four out of the six students. It was satisfying to observe a hand going up for the first time, a question being asked, or more information being sought. It was even more satisfying to see these behaviors observed in the classroom setting. According to the classroom teacher the behaviours by the other two students also indicates some growth. However, these changes were subtle and therefore a little more difficult to observe unless someone had continuous contact over an extended period of time.

A classroom setting is very complex and many factors can contribute to changes in behavior. However, it was concluded that the settings that were created allowed these participants to feel safe, enjoy themselves and as a result take risks. This behavior transferred to the classroom setting.

Project B—Flexible Thinking.

Data collected during the early part of the school year from each of the grade six/seven students that were part of this project included responses to the *Sample Self-Assessment Checklist* from the *Mathematics K to 7 Integrated Resource Package* (Ministry of Education, 1995, p. 246). These responses along with the solutions for several problems were placed into each student's portfolio, a routine procedure for this classroom.

During the 1996-97 school year the students carried on with the regular mathematics program. Whenever possible, tasks were introduced that could create in students an awareness of the fact that there may exist different ways to solve many problems; many questions can be answered correctly in different ways; answers can or should be considered correct if the thinking to arrive at them makes sense and can be justified or explained; and it is unlikely that there exists a 'best' strategy to solve some problems and play some games.

During regular meetings that were held throughout the year, a brief look was taken at what had been done and the content for the coming months was examined with a focus on related problems, tasks and games that would meet the criteria of the project. A capable work study student not only assisted with the search for suitable tasks, but visited the classroom and carried out observations.

To find out whether the inclusion of the special types of problems throughout the school year had an effect on how students view and/or think about mathematics, the IRP Self-Assessment Checklist was administered again during the last month of the school year. The comparison of the responses for each student focused on the statements that related to problem solving and attitudes, since these were the major concern of this project. The checklist consisted of items such as:

Statement #1 • *Sometimes I don't know what to do when I start a problem.*

Statement #4 • *I usually give up when a problem is really hard.*

Statement #11 • *There is always a best way to solve a problem.*

Students were required to place a checkmark on a scale between the statements:

I am not good at mathematics . . . and . . . I am good at mathematics.

If changes in attitude toward mathematics learning were observed, students were asked to suggest why they thought that might have been the case. An analysis of the responses includes the following observations:

- Eight students who at the beginning of the year responded with a yes to *Sometimes I don't know what to do when I start problems* changed their replies.
- Five students changed their answers from yes to the statement, *I usually give up when a problem is really hard.*
- The greatest change in responses occurred for the statement, *There is always a best way to solve a problem.* Eleven students changed their answers from the yes that was elicited at the beginning of the year.
- The second response for ten of the students moved closer toward the statement about being *good at mathematics.*

During the final meeting the question, *Can some of the positive outcomes be attributed to the implementation of the project?* was posed. We believed this to be the case and concluded that an awareness by a teacher of the possible value of open-ended tasks and relating these types of settings to specific components of the curriculum throughout the year can have a positive impact on students' thinking about mathematics, even in the latter part of being in elementary school. This conclusion was supported by some of the comments students supplied in response to providing reasons for changing their opinions about viewing mathematics. These comments made reference to: *learning new ways of looking at problems; enjoying solving problems in different ways; valuing the opportunity to explain thinking;* having *learned to show answers;* and *having learned to do it rather than just providing an answer.* Some of the observations made while students played thinking games indicated that many enjoyed the task of looking for different strategies and then attempting to compare these.

Discussion and Suggestions

The projects that have been outlined are representative of the type of action research that connects me with teachers, their students and learning outcomes related to mathematics teaching, learning and assessment. Without classroom teachers as willing participants these type of projects would not be possible. Small amounts of money and an enthusiastic senior education student as an assistant can contribute greatly to the ease of implementation. The results from these type of projects can yield valuable information for classroom teachers. Over the years the contacts and connections with schools have been a very valuable experience. They have provided me with a vast repertoire of observations, responses from students, vignettes, and teaching experiences at that level that have become a valuable part of on-campus courses. Perhaps the benefits for the classroom teachers were few, other than having someone teach lessons for them, exchanging information about students and mathematics learning and an occasional lunch. In recent years, small amounts of money received from Educational Renewal made it possible to free teachers for meetings during the day. The widespread benefits that can result from projects that involve teachers, their students and the Faculty of Education can provide a strong argument for having the Faculty attempt to negotiate for a reinstatement of the Education Renewal Fund or initiate actions to establish a similar source for such type of action research.

Over the years I have been very fortunate to have had senior students who, as part of the existing work-study programs, become valuable assistants. On many occasions I benefited from their enthusiasm. They benefited from observing teachers, students and working with students. There is no doubt in my mind that their willingness to go beyond the job descriptions by getting involved in the schools where the projects took place served them well as they applied for teaching positions. I believe this co-op type experience contributed to having them become valued ambassadors of our Faculty of Education and valuable members of the profession. If the Faculty is able to re-establish a fund for action research in schools, perhaps preference for awarding monies should be given to projects that involve senior students, even some who do not qualify for an existing work-study program.

The project on confidence yielded supporting data for the notion that instructional strategies that involve open-ended tasks and settings can stimulate risk-taking. Since that is the case, and since such strategies might be appropriate for early intervention and could help prevent failure in the future or help reduce the number of students who find themselves ending up in what the Ministry labels the 'grey area,' specific implementation hints should be included for teachers under Suggested Instructional Strategies in the IRP. An examination of the content that is presently entered under that heading is of a very general nature and is not suggestive of specific teaching moves or strategies. Since the majority of elementary teachers do not have a mathematics nor a strong mathematics education background, the more specific the suggestions that are provided, the more beneficial it can be for the students and their quest for acquiring numeracy and mathematical literacy. Both of the projects yielded information about teaching strategies that are appropriate for inclusion in future editions of the IRP. The inclusion of strategies of this type could assist with reducing the gap that exists between developing curriculum standards and implementing them in the classroom, which according to Rotberg et al., "we have always tended to underestimate" (1998, p. 462).

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[Support from the BCTF and the College of Teachers made it possible to have the participants share the main ideas and selected activities at the *Westcast '98: Expanding Horizons for Tomorrow's Teachers* Conference at UVic. Papers authored by the participants have been submitted to *Primary Leadership* and *Vector,* provincial journals for primary and mathematics teachers, respectively.]

Bursting Bubbles: Who Knows and Who Speaks

Antoinette Oberg and Pat Rasmussen

In this presentation, we look at situations in which our identities and positions move outside normal social constructions. We examine power relations in these situations focusing on the politics of knowledge. We are particularly interested in the possibilities of bursting the bubbles of identity and position, that is, of disrupting the rules that limit who speaks and whose knowledge is valued in any given situation. Both being university instructors, we focus ultimately on the university classroom, where the rules seem most intractable. To prime ourselves to see our classroom situations differently, we first train our sights on everyday situations where we have less at stake.

Playwrights' Introduction:

This script is an innovative way of presenting research, including the methodology and results. The script is a dialogue between two researchers who are investigating their experiences as university instructors. Specifically, the researchers are interested in understanding power relations and the politics of knowledge. They use narratives (stories) of personal experiences as "data." Narrative analysis takes as its object of investigation the stories themselves. The stories show how the instructors impose order on the flow of their own experience to make sense of events. Then as researchers, they analyze the stories critically, examining taken-for-granted practices of power. This analysis leads to their uncovering ways of disrupting the rules that limit who speaks and whose knowledge is valued in any given situation.

This research is presented in the form of a dialogue because the stories and analysis were created in dialogue. The researchers prompted and critiqued each other to push the research process further than it might otherwise have gone. The script presented here is an edited version of hours of dialogue. It is presented as a performance, with stage directions included, to emphasize its embeddedness in the activities of everyday life.

Script:

PR: BURSTING BUBBLES: WHO KNOWS AND WHO SPEAKS

PR: We describe ourselves and are described by others using categories which have a bipolar structure: gender is male or female; class is upper, middle or low; race is white or non-white; sexual orientation is heterosexual or homosexual; physical ability is able or disabled, and so on. The first pole of each category is valued over the other and serves to define normality. Others position us and we position ourselves in these categories and we identify ourselves by accepting and rejecting our locations in these categories. Positionality and identity situate us in networks of power relations. Like bubbles, they surround and contain us. In so doing, they determine the politics of knowledge: that is, who speaks, when, and how, and whose knowledge is valued and by whom.

In keeping with our desire to expand the kinds of allowable discourses in the academy, we begin with narratives, which recount the particulars of our experiences. We then move to a general analysis of the identities and positions, which shape those experiences in the situations portrayed. Finally, we suggest that an attitude of openness and attentiveness, which we call "presence," may be key to bursting the bubbles that contain and constrain us.

Both speakers blow bubbles.

AO: I am flat on my stomach on the floor at the edge of a gaping hole in which sits the 6-cylinder diesel engine that powers the boat. The engine repairman is doubled over in the bilge working on the tachometer affixed to the underside of the engine housing. I watch closely and ask questions. "Should that screw be tightened right down? The cam has always been loose." "It's because the contact wasn't tight that you were getting erratic readings," he explains. "So, what caused that to happen?" "Likely it was engine vibration that worked it loose. Just check it every so often." We shift attention to the fuel lines at the point where they exit the tank. "Can you figure out how to stop this leak? The pipe fittings have already been rethreaded and it still leaks." He peers at the fittings. "Well, you could try taping the threads. That will require bleeding the system and that takes some time. You might want to do that yourself and save some money." "Is Teflon tape compatible with diesel fuel?" I ask. The answer is yes. He then goes on to explain the importance of winding the tape counterclockwise, which I already know, though I don't say so. I've come to the end of my list of questions. He packs up his tools and prepares the bill. I write him a cheque, which he slips in his breast pocket, and thank him for his work. He nods and clambers out the cockpit door.

Both speakers sit on floor.

Once again I am on the floor, this time sitting instead of lying down. And I am dressed in black wool slacks and a silk blouse instead of old jeans and an oversize cotton shirt. A moment ago we were all on the floor, in a circle, at the invitation of Fiona, one of the students, who wanted us physically close together to hear her story of finding her voice, by which she meant finding the courage to believe in what she knows. Now that Janine has begun her discussion of the ways education policy organizes relationships in schools, some people have moved to chairs to stretch out cramped legs. I am still on the floor.

People take issue with the official definition of an educated citizen, particularly with the phrase, "to contribute to a sustainable economy." "It's an oxymoron," Dick quips. "It ignores the experiences of students," Betty complains. "Education is a hierarchical patriarchal system designed in the interests of those at the top, just like the health care system," laments Fiona. Dick offers an alternative. "Our school has modified the ministry mandate in consultation with our community."

"Well, there's no hierarchy in this class either," Bill points out. "As a matter of fact, I found it quite frustrating in the beginning not to get direction from the instructor. To me, it was as if the instructor were abdicating her responsibility and placing it all on us." "For me, it was great to have the freedom to explore what I was really interested in," Sandra says. Marion adds, "van Manen says pedagogical tact is paying attention firstly to students' experiences and only secondarily to theory and policy." She points out that this is a way to respect students even within a patriarchal system. Betty interjects authoritatively, "Don't kid yourselves. It's impossible in a hierarchical system..." "It's possible here," some others object. "Excuse me," I say apologetically, feeling as though I should either be more absent or more present. "Excuse me," I say again, "but I'm here and I am the instructor." "Perfect!" comes a voice from the edge of the circle. "The teacher recessed in the background–a good spot for a teacher to be." Although I have intentionally set up the situation they are discussing, I am uncomfortable. I exercise my prerogative to change direction: "Time is running out and there is still quite a lot on the agenda. Let's move on."

Both speakers return to chairs.

PR: What is the tension in these two stories?

AO: On the surface, it's the floor! In both situations I am on the floor. It is not that I "have the floor," so to speak. Quite the opposite. Yet neither am I "being called on the carpet." I am in a space of in between: I both am and am not speaker and spoken to.

PR: What do you mean? Could you elaborate?

AO: When I am on the floor nose to nose with the mechanic, he positions me as if I know what I am talking about and as if I know what he is talking about. We are, literally, on the same level, both of us speakers and knowers. This situation is curious to me, because I do not consider myself knowledgeable about mechanical objects. Mechanical know-how is not part of my identity. On what grounds have I been accorded this position as knowledgeable and worth listening to?

When the mechanic begins to instruct me beyond what I have asked and presumes that I do not know how to apply Teflon tape, he shows that he does not see me as an equal. With this move, he takes a superior position on the basis of his expert knowledge in relation to which I am positioned as ignorant woman in a world of traditionally male knowledge.

At the same time that he positions me as inferior to him in terms of mechanical knowledge (with just cause, which he may or may not know), I am superior to him in social terms by virtue of being the owner of the premises and his temporary employer. In terms of social class, he is a labourer and I am a professional. Although I am accustomed to this difference, having always been a member of the middle class, I am not entirely comfortable with the a priori feelings of inferiority and superiority that accompany it. I consciously try to minimize our differences through my language and manner.

On the other hand, my position as employer gives me the audacity if not the right to speak, in this case to ask questions, in a field in which I am not knowledgeable. The mechanic's receptivity to these questions and his apparent acceptance of me into his world could be simply well-disguised tolerance of my ignorance, perhaps encouraged by his awareness that he is being paid by the hour.

However, it is tempting to suggest that the mechanic's initial receptivity is acceptance of my sincere interest and desire to learn what I can from his storehouse of knowledge. If this is the case, in those first few minutes, we have burst the bubbles that separate in terms of gender, class and knowledge and have indeed connected over the engine. We do not face each other, but rather we are side by side facing the topic. We are both open and attentive to the matter at hand and our category differences evaporate.

This connection is maintained for only a short while. At the moment at which one of us imports into the situation a presumption that arises from something other than the topic at hand, the relationship slips into predefined categories. When the mechanic presumes my ignorance about Teflon tape, he disconnects from the immediate situation and draws instead on his culturally conditioned attribution to me of mechanical ignorance. The invocation of this particular gender-based category severs our momentary connection.

PR: And in the classroom?

AO: Once again, in the academy, I am in traditionally male territory, and once again I am positioned as if I have the knowledge required to legitimate my presence. I say "as if" because I am as interested in experience as I am in knowledge. As a woman in the academy who pays more attention to students' experiences than to prescribed bodies of knowledge, I perceive the vulnerability of my position. I dress conservatively to obscure my resistance to the male model of knowing. In so doing I create an ambiguous identity: I am both accepted and vulnerable to rejection.

Given this identity, I am uncomfortable with the superiority accorded my position within the classroom. In relation to students, I am in the superior position of instructor, whether or not I intend or desire it. In the male model of hierarchy, which organizes the institution, I am positioned as knower and speaker and students are positioned as unknowers and listeners.

As a woman who is more interested in connection than in separation, I attempt to alter these hierarchical positions by encouraging students to become knowers about their own learning, to take responsibility for their own learning to the point of determining what they need to learn and how to go about it. These are graduate students, professional educators who in their own institutions are positioned as knowers and speakers with the experience and knowledge required to direct their students' learning. It is both surprisingly and understandably difficult for them to import their identities as knowers into the university classroom. Fiona signals the vulnerability felt with this move by drawing us close to the ground and close together.

Students conduct the class almost as if I was not the instructor, as if there were no separation between us. When they invite each other to the floor, they expect me to come too. (And I do, without thinking twice, remembering to forget my institutionally assigned superior position.) In their discussions of student alienation that results from policy-induced hierarchy, they deconstruct their experiences in the course as if the instructor were not present. They do not override or ignore the instructor; they disappear the instructor. They perceive me to be there but not as instructor. They have burst the bubble that contains and separates me.

If I am not instructor, what is my identity in this situation? The students relate to me as if I was one of them. They do not see me as instructor, one who is inevitably in a superior position. And yet I do not regard myself as one of them. Although I attempt to counteract the effects of my superior instructor position, I am under no illusion that the effects can disappear. I am the instructor–a statement that I eventually make out loud to affirm the inevitability of the difference between them and me.

It is important that I remind students of this difference. They can easily become so trusting of my support of their own inquiries that they become vulnerable to my influence. They forget that I am in the more powerful position and because of this my suggestions carry a weight which exaggerates their value. They forget how easily they can become subject to my knowledge instead of subjects of their own knowledge. As quickly as the bubble is burst, it reforms again. And there is a paradoxical value in its persistence. Students know that they can rely on my position to authorize their inquiries. The irony is that it is my authority as instructor that lends credibility to the invitation for students to become their own authorities.

What are your stories?

Pat stands up and leans.

PR: "The truck is here!" I go outside and a big sewer truck is slowly inching back towards our white Toyota. The truck stops. A large man in his early 60s climbs down from the cab and ambles toward me. I greet him with a warm "Morning!" He replies, "Morning!"

I stand and watch him unload the long 8-inch hose from his truck. He asks where the cap is. I say, "I think this is it" and point to the rounded metal handle rising out of a 2 ft. square cement block. "Oh yeah, that's it!" he replies. He wanders back to his truck and grabs a long handled tool. He walks back toward the cement cap.

"I wondered how you were going to lift that lid. It's so heavy looking." He firmly plants the rigid side of the U-shaped tool against the stationary side of the tank and angles the hinged side around the handle on the cement lid. "What is that thing?" I ask. He replies, "You've probably never seen one of these. It's called a PEAVEY and loggers used it. I worked in the bush for 35 years."

"Wow! It really works! I was expecting you to use some kind of winch." "Yeah, the peavey is amazing!" He moves the lid off and drops the hose inside the hole. He tells me that he will be a while. He asks me to flush the toilet when he waves. I agree and go back into the house.

Twenty minutes later he is at the window waving. I flush the toilet and go outside. He speaks without looking up. "The sludge is pretty heavy. When was it last emptied?" "Three or four years" thinking to my self that it has been at least four and I should have done this before now.

"Yeah, pretty heavy! But this should do you for another three years."

He finishes, folds up the hose, uses the peavey to put the lid back on, goes to the cab to write up the bill. I follow and stand beside the open door.

"I assume you take this load to a treatment plant" I say innocently. He laughs. "No!! I take it to town and it will go down a bunch of pipes and end up at Clover Point and pour into the ocean."

I am HORRIFIED. He tells me about the politics of sewage and what I can do to put pressure on decision-makers to get a treatment plant built. He stresses the need for accountability with regard to all the money that is gathered from people like me. I promise to phone and write a letter about my concerns and send it to the CRD. We bid farewell and he drives away.

Pat sits down.

I'm in the classroom with eleven students talking about feminist counseling skills. We are discussing how internalized oppression is at work within intimate relationships. I use an example of a heterosexual couple who is both employed and living below the "poverty line."

Bob speaks up. "Aren't you just perpetuating stereotypes? How can you talk for the working poor? You're middle class!" I shift in my chair, "Well, I can't talk for all working poor, and I'm not middle class. I grew up on a farm in central Alberta. I believe that I can use my experiences of being poor as a legitimate source of knowledge."

He sits tall in his chair and leans forward. "Yeah, but living on a farm means that you weren't REALLY poor. After all, it takes lots of money to buy a farm. And farm land is equity and can be used as leverage." I reply, "The only reason we have a farm is 'cause my dad fought and was wounded in WWII. Through the Veteran's Land Act, dad got a federal subsidy to buy farmland. But there wasn't any money to buy machinery or livestock."

Bob continues, "How did you get to be a university instructor? Were you escaping your lower class background? And if you were, why do you use it to legitimate your knowledge as a university instructor?" Pause I take a deep breath and reply, "Having been positioned as lower class and having lived in poverty enables me to do structural analysis in a way that I might not be able to do if I were middle class...I can use my life experiences and show connections between social organization and social problems." Pause "Bob... let's involve others in our discussion." Bob agrees. We move on.

Pause.

AO: So how is the sewer man story about multiple positions and identities of social class and gender?

PR: The sewer man reads me (I speculate) as middle/upper class because of the location of my house on the water in an area of expensive homes. When I speak to him however, I speak from my identity as lower class. I am physically present–I go outside to greet him rather than have him come to the door. I am interested in him and his work. He responds openly. By asking about the peavey I make evident my lack of knowledge about this particular tool and the logging industry—a male domain. I acquiesce to his male knowledge. However, I simultaneously demonstrate sufficient knowledge to appreciate the sophistication of the simple tool. My appreciation of the peavey stems from my experience and knowledge with the equipment required on a farm.

While the sewer man accepts my interest in his activities, he reads my response of horror as ignorant, middle-class woman, intrigued but inknowledgeable about his tools and the sewer industry. He takes a superior position of the knowledgeable social activist/educator. He transmits his knowledge about the sewer business to educate me about the current situation and the apparent impasse. He stresses the need for a treatment plant and how I can help make it come into being. By importing a framework of problem solving, he is able to construe the issue in such a way that he can stay separate from his part in the problem. After all, he continues to collect sewage for dumping into the ocean. He urges me to become politically aware and active based on his superior knowledge. In this story, I am read as ignorant student. As such, my identity as aware consumer is negated by his superior knowledge about the politics of the sewer business. His political discourse (superior knowledge) about the sewer business engulfs me.

AO: This sounds the reverse of the situation in your classroom, where you are teaching students to do political analysis.

PR: Yes, it is ironic that the sewer man presumes to teach me social activism since I have been an activist and teacher for the past twenty years. The same kind of discounting of my knowledge and experience takes place in the classroom. The student reads me in class terms as middle class and incapable of knowing/understanding the position of lower class/oppressed people. He presumes, because of his positioning of me that I lack the epistemic privilege that is possible from the position of being oppressed. I however, identify myself as lower class and see all too well the oppression of the lower classes. Ironically, I argue the value of my lower class knowledge within the university where middle class knowledge is power.

AO: How is gender at work in the classroom story?

PR: In that Bob challenges and interrogates me about my epistemic privilege, he speaks up to discount my knowledge. He is able to do this because of his male privilege. He uses the language of the patriarchy: logical debate. On one hand, I am placed in an inferior position to his male dominance and in relation to the predominance of the middle class in the university. On the other hand, I too am positioned as dominant within the classroom by virtue of my position as instructor. The institution constructs me as middle class AND yet, I (re)claim an epistemic privilege by virtue of my lower class identity.

Both speakers face the audience.

AO: So how do we connect across these categories of class and gender?

PR: By being present. To the extent that we are engaged directly and immediately in the experience of working side by side with the other, we create the possibility of connecting in spite of our positions and identities. Although we can not escape the categories, which define us, we can move beyond our normal social constructions by moving continually between multiple positions and identities. It is by paying attention to the way categories are at work in the immediate situation that we shift our identities and positions.

AO: The significance of being present is that it bursts the bubbles that define and separate us. Bursting bubbles involves opening to what is going on in any given moment and discerning what structures our relationships, how power is at work, who speaks and who does not, what knowledge is valued and what is excluded.

PR: The construction of bubbles separates and excludes. It limits the possibilities of connecting with the other and restricts what counts as knowledge.

AO: Being present involves dropping our carefully constructed set of preformed categories that we bring to any situation and instead moving among multiple positions and identities. It is in the spaces between the bubbles that we connect.

Both speakers blow bubbles and leave!

Coparticipation as Mode for Learning to Teach Science

Wolff-Michael Roth, G. Michael Bowen, Nadely Boyd
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Coparticipation is a model of learning a practice, which has precedence in many domains. However, teacher education rarely draws on the affordances of coparticipation in the enculturation of future teachers to the practice. This study on teacher learning was conducted in a local middle school where two of the authors cotaught a unit on water in a grade 7 classroom over a 4-month period. We show that in those situations where the two coparticipate in teaching, tremendous learning occurs. On the other hand, learning is constrained when a beginning teacher has to "go solo."

Traditional cognitive theories led to a conception of teacher training in which knowledge about teaching and subject matter is first transferred to (or constructed by) the preservice teacher to be applied in praxis later, first during the practicum and subsequently during the regular teaching job. However, a considerable body of research in teaching (e.g., Lave, 1996; Roth, 1998a, 1998b; van Manen, 1995) and on other everyday practices—including mathematics in the workplace (e.g., Lave 1988) and everyday scientific laboratory practice (e.g., Jordan & Lynch, 1993)—shows that what makes practitioners competent is not learned in formal institutions but by coparticipating with competent others in a community of practice. Here, coparticipation describes the fact that an individual participates with others in an ongoing and authentic activity; but the nature of the interactions during coparticipation depends on the relative experience and expertise of the individuals. Coparticipation therefore includes master-apprentice relations as well as collaborations between individuals operating at the same level of expertise (e.g., newcomers or old-timers working together). Coparticipation is a prevalent form of learning in many domains—including becoming a pilot, Mayan midwife, carpenter, street vendor, bank teller, and physicist (Coy, 1989; Lave & Wenger, 1991). However, the domain most concerned with questions of learning and teaching generally does not make use of this mode of professional reproduction.

A well-documented example of learning by participating in a practice is that of becoming a Mayan midwife (Jordan, 1987, 1989). Young Mayan girls, especially when they are growing up in families where there are already midwives, "absorb" the essence of midwifery in the process of growing up and in the course of their life span. They know the life of midwives in person, the stories people tell who come to them, and the herbs and other remedies that are collected and used. As children, sitting in the back of some room, they hear stories told of difficult births and see a prenatal massages being given. Later and a little older, they are passing massages, running errands, and getting needed supplies. After they have had children themselves, they might accompany midwives on visits and do the kinds of things other women have done to them during labor. When they finally decide to become midwives themselves, they begin to pay more attention and take over an increasing amount of the work from the regular midwives they have been accompanying—beginning with the routine activities during birthing and ending with the culturally most significant aspects of birth, the birth of the placenta.

Here, learning is not relegated to a factory-like process of information uptake as a person is pushed through a culturally sanctioned education system. Rather, the driving force of apprenticeship in Mayan midwifery is the work of preparing births and bringing children to the world. Rather than preparing for life or faking the real thing, becoming a midwife means to participate in doing useful and necessary tasks. At the core of learning by participating is knowing what is required for getting the job done rather than developing a discourse about the practice. Jordan (1987), who apprenticed to a Mayan midwife, made two remarkable observations. First, she found it difficult if not impossible to specify exactly how she was taught, and whatever she received in instruction came from a midwife doing her job rather than from a teacher doing teaching. Second, because the apprentice's performance was driven by the work, there was little praise and blame, for they are unnecessary in a context where the success and failure are obvious and go without saying. In many cases, the learner rather than the expert/teacher accomplish evaluation. We believe that there are valuable lessons to be learned from this extended example for learning to teach.

After having conducted several studies of teachers teaching together[1] (Roth, 1998a, 1998b; Roth & Boyd, 1998), we think that coteaching provides for a pedagogy of silence, that is, modes of teaching and learning well-known in the appropriation of other complex practices from tailoring to nuclear physics, from midwifery to biochemical analysis, from everyday mathematics in a dairy factory to research in sociology. There is a broad range of research in cognitive science (Varela, 1995), artificial intelligence (Churchland, 1995), sociology (Bourdieu, 1997), hermeneutic phenomenology (Ricœur, 1990), and education (van Manen, 1995) which indicates that we learn not so much because we are linear processors of textual and declarative information, but because of our existential being-in-the-world, the state of being thrown into a physical and social world that is always and already shot through with meaning. Therefore, by coparticipating with a more experienced individual, newcomers learn to teach by participating in the praxis of teaching, in a mode of being-in-the-world-of-the-classroom.

In this paper, we investigate the affordances of coteaching and the constraints to learning when a beginning teacher has to learn an aspect of her practice in a non-coteaching mode.

Research Design

The study was conducted in a local middle school where Nadely (Boyd) was assigned to teach a 4-month unit on water. This unit included the physical properties of water, the water cycle, and a research project in a local watershed with the students' data becoming part of a community-based database used to monitor biotic and abiotic aspects of this watershed. The present study was designed to investigate various aspects of learning science and science teaching in a Grade 7. In this class, there were 27 students (15 male, 12 female) five of whom were designated as "special needs students." During the 4-month unit, Nadely and Michael (Roth) cotaught many lessons and reflected together on teaching and learning in the classroom. At the time, Nadely was a preservice teacher with a bachelors degree in child and youth care and completing her 2-year teacher preparation program with a 4-month internship. Michael had 18 years of teaching experience, most of them at the middle through high school levels. As a department head of science, he had brought about a school-based teacher enhancement program and taught preservice elementary and secondary science teachers.[2]

The entire 4-month unit was captured on videotape using two cameras. On occasion, we used remote microphones and audiotapes to record conversations between Michael and the students during student-centered activities. After each lesson, we debriefed the classroom events. We video- or audio-taped the sessions with Nadely, though she did not attend all of these debriefings, being constrained by additional demands of her role in the school (coaching, supervising, etc.). We frequently met for planning the unit, watching and reflecting about teaching episodes featuring either Michael or Nadely questioning Grade 7 students. We also kept daily research notes which, with all the course-related artifacts produced by Nadely, the children, and Michael (e.g., tests, overhead transparencies, curriculum planning documents, photos), were entered in the data base.

As part of our research projects, we enact a data analysis grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology (Ricœur, 1990, 1991). Hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with understanding lived situations and recognizes the interdependence of hermeneutic understanding which arises from critical, informed interpretation and phenomenological understanding which emerges from lived experience of being-in-the-world. Hermeneutics, concerned with explication, demands a critical distancing of self from itself whereas phenomenological understanding comes from being-in-the-world, which precedes all reflection. Methodologically, we attended to the hermeneutic task by enacting the criteria of credibility, dependability, and confirmability of qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) which arise from our prolonged engagement, persistent observation, peer debriefing, progressive subjectivity (process of monitoring developing understandings), and member checks. We arrived at phenomenological understandings through our own, lived and shared experience of coteaching in this classroom.

Results

Nadely, the preservice teacher in our group, had identified questioning strategies as one area in which she wanted to improve her practice. Questioning therefore became one of the foci of this action research project. With respect to questioning, conducting whole-class conversations, and planning science lessons, Michael was the more experienced teacher. Another important topic for discussion was discipline. Here, because of his visitor status and because he knew the students much less than Nadely (who also taught mathematics and did homeroom duty), Michael was not in the position to model general classroom management strategies. Because the regular classroom teacher was mostly absent, Nadely did not have a counterpart from whom she could learn through coteaching, which constrained the amount she could learn during those four months with respect to the aspect of classroom control and discipline. We discuss these two examples, questioning and discipline as positive and negative paradigm cases for learning through coteaching.

Learning to Teach by Coparticipating: "When You Formed Your Questions . . . It Triggered Things for Me"

Learning by participating in teaching with another, possibly more experienced teacher affords learning in ways that are impossible by attending lectures, watching from the back of the classroom, or by analyzing and reflecting on your own teaching by watching videotapes after the fact. Working side by side with another teacher provides the same perspective of the class, the same angle on who is attentive and who is engaging in another activity, the same positioning with respect to the physical and—at least part of—social world of the classroom. That teacher who is not asking the questions at this moment actually has the time required to objectify the situation and to engage in reflection even as the activity is progressing. Nadely described these moments that allowed her to stand back and observe good questioning in action:

> [Nadely:] Watching your questioning was really helpful. Because I don't know when I am and I'm not questioning properly. I guess what was helpful was to be able to watch by standing a bit back, and feel when to ask a specific question just when you're up there doing the demonstrations.

To assist us in making sense of how teachers learn as they coteach, our entire team observed and analyzed video clips. In one instance, Michael interacted with one group of students who had built a model of water from variously sized marshmallows, toothpicks, and string.

> Michael: So, there are gaps between the styrofoam balls. What does that mean for the water?
>
> Sandy: It should be together.
>
> Dave: There is one lump of solid. They're all really close together [points to ice], here they're all spread apart [points to water], see in my diagram.
>
> John: They're all close together.
>
> Dave: In the liquid.
>
> Michael: So, can you tell me one thing that the water does but that the ice doesn't do?

The clip notably illustrates that Michael asked questions without immediately ratifying students' responses; three of the four students in the group responded before the next question; and the questions where open so that there was more than one correct response. As we analyzed the video clip for the questioning strategies, Nadely reflected on the interactions between students and Michael.

> [Nadely:] I was noticing that you are asking them, 'What does this mean?,' 'Can you tell me about X?', 'What is it?,' 'Why is this like this?,' and 'How do you know that it is like this?' rather than just say, 'Yeah, you're right' or 'No, you're wrong. This is it.'

Michael, when talking about his questioning, did not provide a recipe for questioning, or abstract techniques that might be required in asking appropriate questions. Rather, he accounted for an attitude he takes to interacting with children about science topics:

> [Michael:] I think for me it is sort of important to listen. Because I know

> from experience that I could tell students something and they accept it. They might or might not accept it, but certainly not really understand it. So what I try to do is listen and then question, 'How do you know?'

Through such reflection on action (removed from the actual interactions with students), we identified key issues in questioning. Because of the coparticipation, Nadely could observe Michael in practice and immediately use his questioning as a model for her own interactions with other students, engage in questioning over the same subject matter content, with the same feel for the classroom as she had immediately before, and under almost the same conditions. In the end, the unit had provided us with many opportunities to engage in questioning alongside each other and with many opportunities to reflect on our actions (in addition to curriculum planning). Coteaching allowed Nadely to tremendously improve her questioning strategies tremendously. She had a quite different learning experience when it came to achieving classroom control.

Learning Classroom Control: "I Was Sort of Stumbling Through Things Myself"

The Grade 7 class to which Nadely was assigned was a difficult one to teach. Students did not easily focus on their assigned tasks, and the many textbook strategies for making students accountable for their behavior, including removing them temporarily from the interactions by asking them to step out, making students stay behind during lunch and after school did not seem to work. The only person who seemed to have any significant impact on controlling student behavior was their regular classroom teacher. Yet he was notably absent for most of the time making it difficult for Nadely to learn as she had about questioning. To complicate the matter, Michael could not be a role model, for he was a visitor, constrained by research ethics, and therefore felt disempowered. He was disempowered even with respect to Nadely who was doing a better job than many teachers with several years of experience.[3] Yet throughout her student teaching and internship experiences in this classroom, Nadely struggled with the issues of classroom control. After many unsuccessful attempts in bringing her university propositional knowledge about classroom control to action, she gave up and instead attempted to learn by getting a feel for what is right in each individual situation, with each student.

> [Nadely:] Well I think that it's just the here and now. It's easy to think of, "Well somebody does this to me then I follow this and this and this." But every situation is so different and every student is so different. I mean for me, as far as classroom control, it has just all been trial and error; that is, learning as I went along finding what works or what doesn't work.

Thus, experiencing the gap between propositional knowledge learned at the university and the moment to moment experience of teaching without time-out for reflection-in-action, even less for reflection-on-action, and lacking the opportunity for learning to control a classroom by coparticipation, Nadely resorted to trial and error procedures, tinkering with various approaches, and thereby finding what works best for her, in this classroom, through her embodied experience of being-in-the-classroom.

Discussion

We concluded this project by noting that coparticipation shows great potential for teacher development. By working alongside an experienced teacher—rather than just being observed on occasions by sponsoring teacher and university supervisor—the preservice teacher experienced and participated in praxis in addition to having the opportunity to engage with experienced teachers in reflection-on-action and in curriculum planning. As another teacher in a similar project pointed out, two months of coparticipation with another teacher with considerable expertise in the subject matter area improved her teaching more than she could have done "by taking three university courses" (Roth, 1998a). In another aspect of her teaching, and without the experience of coparticipating with a more experienced teacher, her learning was constrained and involved a great deal of trial-and-error search and testing of ways of controlling the class. Coteaching may therefore be an ideal vehicle not only for professional training but also for inservice teacher professional development. One can easily envision inservice efforts in which one competent science teacher coteaches with about three elementary teachers at a time. Such coteaching would come with an additional benefit in that it overcomes the often-deleterious effects of professional isolation, which relegates teachers to "their" classrooms with few opportunities to coparticipate with peers as part of doing their work.

Why do we (teachers, midwives, pilots, carpenters, etc.) learn so much by coparticipating in ongoing practices with others who already have some familiarity of the situation? Phenomenologists suggest that it is because we find ourselves first of all in a world to which we belong, physically and socially, and in which we cannot but participate, that we are subsequently able, to set up objects in opposition to ourselves, objects that we reclaim as knowable. There is consequently no self-understanding that is not mediated by signs, symbols, and texts. Because of the fundamental condition of existence, being-in-the-world, the way we normally exist and act in our world, we should not separate and individualize competence as silent knowledge, implicit knowing and theories enclosed by our bodies. Rather, when we are interacting with students, we are part of this classroom, filled with these students, at this time, teaching this subject matter, on this day.

Because teaching is so embodied and tied to our experience of being-in-the-classroom, it comes as no surprise that learning to teach requires the personal experience of teaching in classrooms. By coteaching, beginning teachers can observe and imitate the more seasoned peer, how he walks about the classroom, calls on students, waits, feels confident, deals with a difficult situation then and there. The student teacher learns with her body, how to feel confident about asking questions. This confidence is not merely an affective aspect of her knowing, it is the active knowledge itself, knowing what to do or say, and what to avoid doing and saying.

The study of the practice of teaching needs to be sensitive to the experiential quality of practical knowledge, an acknowledgment that much of the instant knowing, enacting in real time issues from one's body and immediate world (van Manen, 1995). Coteaching allows teachers at all levels to evolve understandings from (a) the continuous interplay of critical and rigorous inquiry in the tradition of a hermeneutics of text and action which is informed by past research on teaching and from (b) being-in-the-classroom and enacting caring relationships with Others (students) in the act of teaching. Our work suggests that coteaching affords tremendous learning experiences not only for preservice teachers but also for practicing school and university teachers trying to understand the lifeworlds of teaching and trajectories of competencies in these lifeworlds.

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[1] We prefer the notion of coteaching over team teaching. Coteaching foregrounds the individual who coparticipates in collective activity, whereas team-teaching highlights the collective work of a group, which, according to Durkheim, is an irreducible phenomenon in its own right. Coteaching is consistent with the symmetry between Self and Another, whereas the notion of team teaching has a strong social over individual slant.

[2] The sponsor teacher was not present for most lessons and is therefore not included in this discussion of participants.

[3] This assertion is grounded in Roth's experience as department head of science and many research studies in many countries including Australia, Canada, Germany, and the USA.

A Re-consideration of Spirituality and Education: Re-conceptualizing Spirituality

Daniel Scott

This paper is a re-conceptualization of spirituality for education. The assumptions that link spirituality to religions, to (dogmatic) enclosure and to metaphysics; that conceptualize spirituality as a to-be-excluded from educational thinking and practice, are questioned. Assumptions that allow for the movement and play of spirituality in education are considered. The spiritual is understood as an inherent human quality, located in the lived/living experience of people; as immanent(even imminent), irrupting in the midst of daily experience, in the relations and exchanges that are the flux of life.

In re-conceptualizing education, the discourses of curriculum have been opened to understand curriculum as political, racial, gender, post-structuralist, biographical, aesthetic, and theological text. (Pinar et al, 1995). Spirituality, long captive in the domain of religion, tainted by dogmatic and religious institutionalization has been unavailable as a consideration for educators. This paper works to open education to spirituality through a re-conceptualization of spirituality, to bring spirituality into play as: 1) human quality; 2) form of relations; 3) way of knowing, and; 4) engagement of learning.

Human character includes a spiritual quality that is parallel to physical, intellectual and emotional qualities. Human qualities take particular forms in different individuals depending on personal history, life experience, context, and personal practice. The spiritual is not a higher form, but rather a parallel form. Being emotional, being physical, being intellectual, being spiritual are ways of human be/com/ing in the world. They never occur in isolation. Each is an element of personal character, articulated through behaviour. A person is emotional and acts emotionally; is physical and acts physically; is spiritual and acts spiritually.

Intellectual life is connected to thinking, and understanding. Physical life is connected to the body and movement. Emotional life is connected to feelings. But, feelings happen in bodies and between people. Thoughts, occurring in the midst of physical, emotional, and spiritual contexts, are expressed in writing and speaking. How are we to understand the spiritual as linked to physical, emotional, intellectual life? What is the spiritual a response to? How is it expressed? What assumptions shape our understanding of the spiritual? What different assumptions might alter that understanding?

Assumptions for (re) thinking the spiritual

Current Assumptions about the Spiritual	Alternate Assumptions for the Spiritual
1: The spiritual is expressed only in religious understandings or positions. 1.1: All expressions of the spiritual are, de facto, religious expressions. 1.2: All religious expressions are, de facto, spiritual	1: The spiritual is a matter of connections beyond the self (relations). 1.1: These relations have a qualitative value which may be identified as "spirit". 1.2: "Spirit" may be an expression of personal, communal or o(O)ther[1] qualities.
2: The spiritual is insubstantial and ungrounded.	2: The spiritual is a generative impetus immanent and inherent in life. 2.1 It is not dominant but dependent on opening and letting be for expression, 2.2 It is a form of turbulence or agitation: stirring up to life. 2.3 It acts as a call that seeks opening for expression that may include physical, intelligent, and sentient forms.
3: The spiritual leads to a "ga-ga" factor in which incredible claims or interpretations are treated as acceptable because they are designated as "spiritual" and cannot be questioned because they are so designated. 3.1: Any expressions of it in a public forum must be curtailed because they cause discomfort, embarrassment, and prevent thinking. 3.2: The discomfort caused by it is an indication of its inappropriateness for public discourse.	3: The spiritual may take us to limits of thinking or understanding. 3.1: To acknowledge limits to understanding is not an escape from difficulty or present reality: that is, it is not a metaphysical leap. 3.2: That which surpasses our comprehension is not temporary ignorance but an acknowledgment of the unencompassable that remains always unencompassed.
4: The spiritual will, of necessity, depend on a metaphysical leap to resolve some of the questions it implies. 4.1: A metaphysical solution is an escape from present realities.	4: The spiritual, as expressed through human beings, is integrated with all other human qualities.

5: The spiritual assumes and accepts transcendence as its definitive reality and that "ultimate" reality is beyond the human present.	5: The spiritual is grounded in human experience and is an expression of human response to life, and to questions of mystery and meaning.
	6: The spiritual is lived out and expressed in the personal practices, thinking, and attention of a lived life.

These assumptions lead to, at least the following implications:

A. Religious constructs, beliefs, and practices are attempts to exemplify, structure and consider the "call to life" inherent in be/com/ing human in particular cultural and historical contexts. Some attempts to exemplify and consider the "call to life" may not take shape as religious beliefs or practices remaining personal and unstructured.

B. There may be transcendent possibilities the nature of which, as transcendent, makes them incomprehensible. They "surpass the expressible" (Serres, 1997:72). Attempts at expression are limiting, metaphoric by necessity, incomplete, and perhaps incoherent.

C. Attention to the spiritual is part of human be/com/ing and requires a range of experience, practice, and consideration.

D. Such attention has been common in human culture and is necessary in engaging life and life's difficulties.

E. Each era has expressed and seeks to express the spiritual in its thinking and understanding. We are no exception, immune neither to the difficulties, nor to the necessity of the spiritual being expressed.

The spirituality implied does not arise out there—beyond—but rather irrupts in the midst of daily experience, in the relations and exchanges that are the fabric and texture of human life. Spirituality is not an escape through transcendence out of the flux of life (Caputo, 1987).

Spirituality, understood as a quality of human be/com/ing[2]; understood as a relational way of knowing and being in the world leads to a question: What are we relating to, knowing, experiencing that is distinctly spiritual? This paper approaches spirituality as an engagement with or expression of "mystery"—that which cannot be finally determined or known. Spirituality reaches beyond the limits of reason while trying to express, articulately and reasonably, those encounters with mystery in the midst of living.

John Caputo (1987), drawing on Heidegger, describes the process as taking "a leap off the stability of the ground, the solidity of presence—

terra firma—and we land in the flux!" (p. 224) Spirituality is a way of considering this move into instability but asks that this move remain located in the world as a way of knowing, as a human process, as be/com/ing human. It is a relational exchange that acknowledges the possibility of being "in the flux." It also a relational exchange with the flux as "mystery"—which includes a sense of o(O)ther[3], as beyond-the-self, as an expression of mystery. Mystery retains its own edge of impossibility. Yet the relation remains. It is not either immanent or transcendent. It is not a question of a dualism of reason—either/or. Any reasonable description is a temporary fiction to describe structurally and solidly that which is flux— in fluctuation, in movement. Mystery is not fixable but withdraws into concealment.

> The mystery is what withdraws beneath, behind, beyond the grip of concepts, the range of historical meanings and conceptualities. The mystery is what eludes the cunning of rationality, of technology, ontology, theology (and even eschatology). (Caputo, 1987, p. 204)

Living spiritually is living in and towards o(O)ther, acknowledging that o(O)ther matters, that m(M)ystery is influential both irrupting and erupting in living and understanding. Consequently, o(O)ther is affective (relational) and sometimes effective (as cause). It is not possible to define m(M)ystery into a tidy comprehension: nor o(O)ther. The challenge is to admit this difficulty of comprehension into our understanding without closure and without exclusion, leaving a gap or opening that must remain, perhaps as wound, or discomfort.

Spirituality becomes a kind of movement that catches up human life and is articulated differently in different eras: each an attempt to give some shape, voice, and clarity to the impinging, withdrawing m(M)ystery. And so:

> We learn above all that we are part of a movement which we did not initiate, that we depend on forces which we do not dominate, that we draw our life from powers we do not fathom. We learn openness—which means at once graciousness, for one knows that has always to do with gifts and giving—and we learn a sense of transiency, for one knows the power of withdrawal. Someone, something, the Lord or not, always giveth and taketh away. There is always giving and taking again. . . .We learn to come to grips with kinesis, with coming to be and passing away, and with the mysterious powers which govern that movement. (Caputo, 1987, p. 206)

Caputo attempts to stay open to the flux, to mystery and to live with the difficulty of a flux that disturbs without trying to still it through metaphysics or closure of another kind. Caputo draws on Kierkegaard, Heidegger, Husserl, and Derrida to offer a post-metaphysical reading that leaves us open to the shaking and trembling of life's difficulty; that leads us:

> not to a conclusion that gives comfort but to a thunderstorm, not a closure but a dis-closure, an openness to what cannot be encompassed, where we lose our breath and are stopped in our tracks, at least momentarily, for it always belongs to our condition to remain on the way. (p. 214)

In order to understand the spiritual as an expression of flux I draw on Michael Serres' (1995) sense of chaos and flux as foundational and generative. Serres argues for an understanding of chaos/turbulence as positive, as opening and indeterminate.

> Chaos is open, it gapes wide, it is not a closed system. . . . It is multiple, unexpected. . . . It does not flow out with a point or a direction, or following some rule, or abiding by some law. Look how much trouble we have seeing it. . . . Our whole classified rationality, all the coding, habits and methods, leads us to speak in externals or negations: outlaw and nonsense. But I say positive chaos. . . . Indetermination is thus positive, and yet we express it with a negative word. I am simply writing the positive concepts of the underdetermined, the undetermined, the positive concepts of the possible, thus the positive concepts of time: the nebulous, the blank, the mix, the surge, the chaos, the adelos multiplicities—I mean the ones that aren't obvious, that are poorly defined,
> confused. Instead of being excluded, rejected, confusion becomes an object, it enters the realm of knowledge, it enters into movement. . . . Behold the positive chaos, the casting mold, the matrix. And behold the pure possible. (p. 98-99)

The spiritual as flux becomes an exemplar of mystery, movement, and ambiguity. Spirituality becomes a site of openness, transformation, and difficulty as it is an attempt to include o(O)ther in the immediacy of living. A consideration of the spiritual leads to a relation with the flux, the indeterminate, the kinesis. As spirituality is a human quality, this relation is a necessary, natural element of human be/com/ing. A capacity for it is already part of humanness. In attending to the flux, we grope towards the unknown as an active gesture, offering ourselves to the possibility of difficulty and influence, being open to a way of living that responds in "tones of humility, silence, simplicity, of a certain profound taking stock of our mortality." (Caputo, 1987, p. 204) There is a mutuality in the relations of o(O)ther/m(M)ystery and humans that involves a way of knowing and a way of living.

Spirituality is expressed through a specific, thoughtful practice of living that reflects a long tradition that Pierre Hadot (1995) claims is the basis of Greek philosophy. Physics, logics, and ethics were all forms of spiritual exercises that philosophers practiced to discipline their minds and lives to being attentively, thoughtfully, and immediately in the present moment. Spiritual exercises, claims Hadot, were not merely an ethical concern but affected the way philosophers considered the physical order of the world, how they thought about the universe and how they understood life and living. An unconsidered life is not unspiritual, it is undisciplined and negligent, caught up in either the past or future and not being lived in the present. A life that is being lived without attention is not being lived at all, as it is not located in the present—the only place life can be lived.

A practice of spirituality, as a discipline of mind and being, keeps the philosopher attuned to the living moment and its temporal quality. The moment, like all of life, is fleeting and must be lived in intensely. It requires response and attunement yet needs to be lived with a certain detachment. To become attached to a particular moment, to its experience, is to live in the shadow of its memory and in anticipation of its re-creation. Living in the moment is a form of repetition forward—"actuality must be continually produced, brought forth anew, again and again" (Caputo, 1987, p.17). There is a sense of fullness in the forward movement. The now is here and being lived intensely with a sense of incompleteness: the struggle to live fully and to practice attention in each moment is always incomplete.

> Genuine repetition repeats forward and bears the responsibility to produce what it would become. Genuine repetition always operates in the element of becoming and *kinesis* and learns to make its way through the flux. (Caputo, 1987, p. 59)

It is necessary to move forward into the next moment repeating the way of living in the present. Letting go (detachment) and gathering up (attention) are co-incident in a spiritual life practice. Learning is always happening in the thoughtful examination of living that is disciplined, attentive, and aware. Each moment is a moment of educational potential.

In living spiritually our relationships occur and emotions (e-motions) arise. Motion produces (e)motion in a stimulative interchange that is both temporary and continuous; that is lived only in the present and must constantly be let go through detachment, only to be encountered again in the next moment. Possibility is endless and constant. Each moment includes the possibility of movement, of being full, of being generative of life.

Life acts on us as we also act on life. Life intrudes on us as m(M)ystery and as o(O)ther and we learn to respond to the intrusions as they come, in the moment of meeting them. There is a kind of readiness and opportunism required: being aware not only of the teachable moment but also the learnable moment. Learning is life long: ever-present when we live in the present. What is this moment teaching me? What can I learn from this difficulty?

In the midst of learning, time is not linear but synchronous. Connections are made when understandings coincide. One learner may take only a few clock seconds to begin a life-long discovery. Another may require weeks of clock time to process a simple understanding. A sensitivity to the diffusion of time in learning will challenge our sense of linear efficiencies, open our sense of accomplishment and admit the communal and historical quality of understanding and knowledge. As the spiritual is about relations, connections beyond ourselves will be included in learning. What does this knowledge signify? Who does it benefit? Who is included? Excluded?

To live spiritually is to recognize a vocational quality to life. There is calling to pay attention to what is arising in our midst, drawing us on. Life is in the current (of time, of flux). We do not live dis-attached lives but are caught up in the movements of culture and time. To live attentively is to live with an awareness of and respect for the significance of those influences. The flux, as Caputo (1987) points out, tends to be covered over, suppressed. To live spiritually is to work at uncovering the movement of life, acknowledging and responding to a sense of vocation. Caputo credits Heidegger with a strong reading of the historical process of understanding emerging in different times through his hyphenated use of the Greek word for truth, *a-letheia :*

> *A-letheia* means the ongoing, historical, epochal process by which things emerge from concealment into unconcealment, in various shapes and various ways, in various configurations and historical stampings. . . . It is not any particular secret or hidden truth, except that it is so disconcertingly close to us that we keep missing it . . . . (p. 177)

I suggest that the spiritual is and has been disconcertingly close. It is immanent and, as Caputo (1987) claims for the flux, operative through human lives. There is a process of "unconcealment" that catches us up in its movement "which we did not initiate," shaped by "forces which we do not dominate," yet we are able to draw life "from powers we do not fathom." In the process we learn "graciousness" and "a sense of transiency" (p.206). In this movement is a process of learning; an educational task that is relational: giving and receiving. An etymological insight about relations/relationships underlines the nearness and intrusive quality of flux in human process and its intimate connection to education. The word comes to us from Latin as follows:

relatio-onis (f) report, repetition

refero, referre, rettuli, relatus (v.tr) to bring back, to give back, return, restore, to pay back, to (re) echo; to renew, revive, repeat, focus, turn (attention), to present again, represent, to say in turn, to reply, to announce, report, relate, tell, to note down, record, to consider, regard, to confer, to bring up, vomit, spit out.

Repetition is at the heart of relations. The etymology tells us. In relating we are engaged in a constant process of renewing and reviving connections. Maintaining relations involves return and repetition although not a practice of remaining in the past but rather a demand of living in the present. The stories demand being re-told and brought into the present as part of the movement forward that keeps relations vital. Some stories of relations are purgative, arising from dis-ease yet remain part of living. They are difficult to tell and must be spat out for relations to be maintained. There is no attempt to make the world saccharine. Relations includes difficulty, pain, and sickness

As relational, spirituality is linked to repetition, narrative, movement, and renewal. It acknowledges the connections that extend (and are extensive) from one person to another: the web or matrix of their lives. The web is not solid but a flux requiring constant attention to be sustained. Relations are maintained through attention, through a discipline that knows the present to be fragile and temporary; that knows o(O)ther and m(M)ystery as near; that admits that different epochs express this knowledge differently.

There is a close link between spirituality and education. How can we teach or learn anywhere but in a present, attentive to the mysteries of the flux, and to what irrupts in life? How can we maintain the relations necessary for educational exchange without a constant re-telling and movement forward to meet the next question, the next challenge? The unknowns arise in the present—as do the difficulties. I am concerned to approach spirituality in a way that neither encases it in firm structures nor expects it to offer clear explanations. Such an engagement will be challenging but is necessary if we are to have a spirituality that is human (and humane), is situated in life and part of a process of life-long learning. Spirituality is a potential opportunity for education as a way of learning and teaching a radical sense of the possible, the mysterious and the flux.

This way of living spiritually is a form of educational exchange in which teaching is an act of reaching toward and learning is an offering of readiness in return—another kind of reaching, as teaching is another kind of readiness. Being open to the unknown, to o(O)ther and m(M)ystery—living spiritually—is both a learner's posture of attentiveness and readiness, reaching and groping for understanding and knowledge and a teacher's willingness to reach, to be attuned, attentive, caring and ready to respond. Spirituality and education are entangled forms. Spirituality—living toward the flux—is already and always a way of living that is educational. Learning and transformation become on-going necessities.

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[1] o(O)ther extends from what is not self, through stranger to outsider, to completely other—including the divine as Other. A person may express a personal spirituality, a community's spirituality, and/or a spirituality that is a relation to o(O)ther.

[2] Be/com/ing is a way of noting that both a sense of being and becoming are included. It is a fusion that resists a notion of being as the essential quality of human nature and accepts that there is a element of becoming, or process and formation in human nature: that which is always incomplete. But in a post-modern reversal there is a quality of being that is preserved in the term.

[3] Other as immanent may also be imminent, that is, impending, even threatening and part of what gives the leap its sense of instability.

Haida Gwaii Field School in Culture and Environmental Education, Queen Charlotte Islands

Gloria Snively and John Corsiglia

Despite the useful role that university courses can play in supplementing and validating cultural, environmental and historical information, most university courses offer little of reported interest to First Nations students. University courses and school curricula often approach Native culture and history through narrow, stereotypic portrayals based on the analyses of non-Native professionals. It is a selective past that dwells primarily, if not exclusively, on colonial history and traditional material culture selected and interpreted by outsiders.

This paper describes a combined off-campus graduate level Environmental Education and Haida Culture course offered in a total emersion summer institute format to Native and non-Native graduate students located on Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands). The courses combined primary historical documents on Haida history and culture with input from Haida elders; and focused largely on topics dealing with community-environment relationships, values, current issues, and the contributions of indigenous peoples to environmental knowledge and the resolution of resource problems. This cross-cultural program attempted to develop approaches that could help teachers develop educational programs and curricula that can challenge students to take a culturally sensitive stand on issues of culture, environment, and sustainability.

Introduction

Although First Nations residents have long utilized time-tested approaches to sustaining both human communities and environments, access to living indigenous approaches has been insignificant and university researchers have been linked with exploiting, marginalizing, and even alienating Native communities (Devine, 1991; Tehenneppe, 1993; Snively, 1995). Native culture and history are often presented in both university and school curricula as narrow, stereotypic portrayals based on the analysis of non-Native anthropologists, historians and other outside professionals (Devine,, 1991). This focus largely ignores topics of great importance dealing with community-environment relationships, values, interpersonal relationships, recent history, current issues, social and family interactions, or the daily activities of living men, women and children. There are few opportunities for students to investigate the past, present and future from within the context of viable, resilient, mature, and significant indigenous cultures.

Further, the few examples of First Nations culture and oral history to reach the classroom usually consist of decontextualized Native myths and legends or other information of specific interest to specialists that may be difficult for educators to interpret and incorporate into the curriculum. Written history has its own weaknesses that can be riddled with factual errors and omissions that reflect a lack of understanding of the Native point of view (Devine, 1991; Cruikshank, 1991).

At long last, in a post-colonial world beset with ecological and social crises, scientists, philosophers, and educators are beginning to show interest in time-tested traditional culture approaches that have long been used to achieve and maintain sustainable relations between human communities and environments. Working biologists and ecologists are contributing with a burgeoning branch of scientific research known as traditional ecological knowledge and wisdom (TEK) which the authors have previously introduced to educators (Corsiglia and Snively, 1995, 1996). With the introduction of TEK concepts in the curriculum, new developments in the field of First Nations Education may provide innovative opportunities for Natives, educators, historians, and environmentalists to collaborate in the creation of culturally and pedagogically sound school programs in Native culture and community-environment relations.

During July, 1997, Simon Fraser University offered a combined TEK enriched graduate level Environmental Education (EDUC 857-5) course and a Haida Culture (EDUC 811-5) course in a total emersion summer institute format to students in their off-campus graduate program located on Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands). The courses combined culture-specific (Haida) secondary resource materials with key primary historical documents and oral history. According to Haida planners, environment and culture cannot be considered separately: there could be no course on Haida culture that was not also about the Haida Gwaii environment. Culture and environment are inextricably linked and must be treated holistically. The concept called for strong collaboration at the community level in identifying the interests and perspectives of the Haida people.

Haida Gwaii: The Haida People

Haida Gwaii, the home of the Haida people, is a constellation of 150 islands located 100 kilometers off the north coast of British Columbia.

There were thought to be perhaps as many as 15,000 to 30,000 Haida before contact, a population that plummeted to as low as 600 before smallpox and other European diseases had run their courses. For 12,000 or more years the islands are believed to have been home to the Haida, who, within this rich environment, developed a unique language and one of the world's most enduring cultures. There are sites throughout the islands where Haida people have lived, fished, gathered food, collected materials for artistic purposes, and buried their dead. Their unique art forms and spiritual stories depict their close interaction with nature. The Haida house form has secured its place in the world of architecture, while the ingenuity of Haida technology is exemplified by their ocean-going canoes.

The Haida are very concerned with policies regarding the protection of natural areas and wilderness (Snively, Suddies, Collines, & Kimmel, 1993) and are the repositories of vast accumulations of traditional knowledge that "the larger society could learn from particularly in regard to their traditional skills in sustainable management complex ecological systems.

Haida Gwaii Field School

In both the environmental education and culture courses the students investigated the environmental and cultural milieu of Haida Gwaii, with a view to developing an in-depth knowledge of this unique natural and human environment. It was felt that our exploration of Haida Gwaii would provide an opportunity to examine Haida lifeways, values, knowledge systems, and assumptions relating especially to respect, connectedness, time, history, the land, spirituality, and wisdom. But it would not be enough to examine Haida ways in vaccuo. It was important to consider how a study of Haida approaches to sustaining both community and environment can help reveal the hidden assumptions of the Newcomers who stumbled upon Haida Gwaii and subsequently sought control of its lands and resources. What does it mean to feel truly connected with a home place? Can dedicated people protect their home place even when faced with overwhelming and powerful forces? It became important to observe how the Haida have repeatedly labored to welcome, resist, and educate Newcomers over the course of some 220 years of post-contact history. Specifically, the topic outline of the course *Haida Culture in Issues and Education* included:

- philosophical foundations: expansionism and long-resident indigenous peoples,
- historical interactions involving Haida and Newcomer interests, including an overview of indigenous and introduced systems,

- local efforts to protect culture and environment,
- traditional ecological knowledge oral information systems,
- understanding across cultural boundaries,
- formal and informal knowledge.

The topic outline of the course *Issues and Topics in Environmental Education* included:

- overview of various philosophical, theoretical, and ideological approaches to EE,
- student's beliefs, knowledge, values and opinions towards specific environmental and resource issues,
- examples of traditional ecological knowledge and wisdom (TEK),
- constructivist approaches to teaching EE and TEK concepts,
- current environmental/cultural issues on Haida Gwaii,
- teaching strategies for understanding EE issues and for conflict resolution,

Simon Fraser University sponsored the development of resource sets for each course in order to provide detailed information on historical, cultural, environmental, and cross-cultural topics. The culture course documents were culled from the anthropological and historical literature with particular emphasis placed on primary government documents held by the Provincial Archives in Victoria. Documents were selected in relation to issues and priorities identified as important by knowledgeable Haida community members and School District personnel who were part of the course planning process.

Participants included five Haida educators, seven non-Native Queen Charlotte Island educators, and twelve on-campus SFU graduate students. Although the field school was based at local high schools with the home economic rooms serving as our kitchens and seminar rooms and classrooms as our male and female dormitories, the majority of our time was spent traveling on boats or camping at various locations of cultural and environmental interest. Students were placed into study teams with the assigned task of becoming "experts" on topics of cultural and environmental interest by reading their coursepacs, interviewing local informants and making observations of on-going events, and to present seminars at appropriate times and locations during the course. Students were also required to keep a detailed field notebook related to the flora, fauna, and ecology of the region; and a reflective journal in which to ponder, consider, speculate, and extract personal meaning from their traveling on Haida Gwaii.

Haida Gwaii is a collection of islands, mostly without roads or settlements, so the logistics of transportation and curriculum implementation presented an organizational challenge. Since the university did not have access to the sufficient funds, we had to rely on the involvement and generosity of individuals who supported this beginning in Haida Post-Secondary Education. Charles Bellis and Hereditary Chief Dempsy Collison very kindly provided boats and endless guidance for nominal charter fees. The Department of Fisheries and Oceans donated the services of the motor vessel *Arrow Post* to take us all—students, elders, and instructors— from Masset to Kiusta.

We were the grateful recipients of many acts of kindness; but in keeping with traditional "protocol" we did not arrive empty-handed. Our collection of archival material relating to post-contact Haida - government relations was genuinely appreciated by leaders and elders interested in issues around control of lands and resources. We hoped that our work would make a difference in the community and in schools where children must make their way through the complexities they meet in their inter- culturally complex everyday lives.

We experienced the living Haida culture in terms of its emphasis on the spoken word, information gathering, decision making and conflict resolution. We began to learn something about valuing and respecting both people and environment and the importance of maintaining harmony with others. Certainly a great many knowledgeable and articulate Haida people were able to instruct us in connectedness, respect, traditional protocol, and even reminded us to lay aside our notebooks so that we might enjoy the beauty of Haida Gwaii. Participants were welcomed into the Haida world and were rewarded with glimpses of community-oriented lifeways such as: "Take only what you can use." "When the Chief invites you to his village – you really must put other matters aside and attend." Further, "One simply does not bring up negativity in the presence of a high chief." Participants who traveled from SFU commented repeatedly on surprises and revelations. Several participants noted that "No one would be the same after the Haida Gwaii Summer School." Others observed:

> We all seem to be benefiting from these environmental and cultural experiences. There can be great complexity and detail behind cultural surfaces: family & clan relationships, people's standing in the community, relationships with lands and waters—all are significant.
>
> There is real benefit in acknowledging the contributions of First Peoples. If indigenous agriculture of the Americas accounts for crops that now produce three fifths of the world's present food supply, as well as such necessities as cotton cloth, chocolate, rubber, representative democracy, and Aspirin. We should really be questioning: Who has been enriching whom?

Throughout the field school both Haida and non-Haida students as well as informants, elders, and instructors were obliged to work together to understand the significance of historical and current events. Opportunities for cultural "border crossing" occurred naturally as students were continuously obliged to question old assumptions and examine mono-cultural beliefs. As one student observed: "As teachers we are improving our ability to cope in multi-cultural classrooms by learning to perceive patterns in one quadrant of the cultural mosaic that defines Canada".

Brief Itinerary

July 5, Masset. At the William Dawson School in Masset. Cultural readings, plant study, introduction to tidal organisms at Skonan point.

July 6. Delkatla Wildlife Sanctuary with local ornithologist Peter Hammel. Instructors presented on TEK and we began our exploration of the intricacies and advantages of detailed local knowledge and oral information systems.

July 7. Field trip to Rose Spit to study trees, shrubs, and flowers.

July 8-11. At the abandoned village site of Kiusta we walked on thick mosses that shimmer over the great house-beams and around burial poles. Haida Nonnies Mary, Gertrude and Leona traced their ancestors, explained totems and crests, and instructed us in the preparation of feasts of mussels and chitons that accompanied the salmon kindly supplied by Charlie Bellis. We observed humpback whales and pelagic seabirds. At Kiusta we observed nearby Cloak Bay and heard student-led seminar reports relating events that occurred here when 18th Century Yankee trader-kidnapper John Kendrick extorted sea otter pelts from Kiusta ancestors. We traced expansionism from the Egyptians through the Greeks and Aquinas to 19th century England with its gunboats, missionary-magistrates and zealous Indian Agents. At Camp Rediscovery. director Marne welcomed us at Kiusta with singing and dancing, then guided us through the emerald forest and cliff-face trail to a Lepas longhouse where we were treated to a candlelight banquet and ceremony complete with octopus and chiton, as well as three kinds of salmon, dried seaweed, oolichan grease, bannoc, and twenty other wonderful dishes.

July 12-13. Masset. Seminars were presented on TEK and environmental education themes.

July 14 - 19. Queen Charlotte Secondary School, Skidigate. Student led academic seminar presentations continued interspersed with field trips to a logging camp and a stream study that included Rod McVicker explaining methods of taking legal water samples in order to monitor such contaminants as mercury levels in stream water.

July 20. To Gwaii Hanas National Park. Chief Skidegate, Dempsy Collison, took us aboard his seine boat the Haida Warrior and fed us with salmon, red snapper, and halibut. Haida Watchmen at Skedans, Tanu, Windy Bay, and Hotsprings Cove hosted us. We learned about history, culture and recent issues as we traveled, fished, cooked and attended to continuous loading and unloading of kayaks, food and camp gear. At every turn we were reminded that hospitality is the sacred prerogative of Haida leaders. Laskeek Bay, Limestone Island: Biologist Collin French of the Canadian Wildlife Service provided a natural history lecture and tour explaining how introduced species have resulted in dramatic alterations of the indigenous flora and fauna. Skedans World Heritage Site: Abandoned village with totems and house excavations. Haida Watchman Charlie Wesley informed us of the history and culture of Skedans.

July 21. Windy Bay. Site of the final logging confrontation between multinational logging companies and anti-logging forces including the Skidegate Band Council and local anti-logging groups. Seminar with Chief Skidigate on the Haida response to logging. Students observe Minke Whales and transient Killer Whales.

July 22. Tanu World Heritage Site. Most central village site, remnants of houses and form of a village. Haida Watchman Captain Gold discussed spirituality, family lifeways, and traditional Haida iconography as it relates to past and present family and clan groups.

July 23, 24. Burnaby Narrows and Hotspring Island: We floated in kayaks and canoes through Burnaby Narrows where tides and geography bring rich banquets of plankton and oxygen to an unbelievable variety of concentrated intertidal organisms. In this cold water environment described by marine biologist as "the undisputed best intertidal zones in the world", we studied beach ecology.

July 25. Return to Skidigate. At the farewell banquet located in the Old Hall in Skidigate Village we were again encouraged with the powerful singing of Guujaaw and speeches made by local hereditary chiefs and the school board superintendent Dr. Linda Rossler. Among the 100 or so persons who attended the banquet, the President of SFU for the university and communicated official appreciation for kindness experienced and also reiterated a desire to work towards future collaborative adventures.

Conclusion

As the course came to an end we were left with a swirl of questions: How does Western commitment to almost continuous innovation and expedience relate to long term survivability? What can long term resident peoples like the Haida teach us about achieving sustainability and developing a view of a lasting relationship with one's "home place?" How might this exposure to a timeless way of doing things affect our teaching and professional work in the future? How can universities participate in developing appropriate post-secondary education for First Nations people—education that will both provide local people with post-secondary education and also help newcomers to understand and appreciate the knowledge and wisdom of indigenous peoples?

In light of world-wide ecological crises and recent events in Haida Gwaii, the Nisga'a land claims, Dalgamuukw, Oka, and on-going fisheries and forestry disputes, it becomes necessary to ask ourselves how effectively schools are presenting the First Nations past, present and future. The problems inherent in training teachers to function in a cross-cultural context and the shortcomings of school curricula dealing with the Native past has been exhaustively documented. This cross-cultural program made an attempt to improve the situation by developing educational approaches that can challenge participants to look at complex situations from a broader, more integrated perspective and to take an informed and culturally sensitive stand on issues of culture, environment, and sustainability. If teachers learn how different cultures have developed approaches to meet their needs and how history can distort information, then they can work towards developing innovative and sensitive curricula that encourage all students to cross borders and broaden their understanding of Native issues and cultural strengths.

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Humour and Cultural Perspectives

Bill Zuk and Robert Dalton

This study examines visual humour by Native artists in North America. It analyses the role of humour in social life, and the content, style, and methods used by aboriginal artists. A classification system is used to identify certain kinds of humour and to raise questions for further study.

Introduction

Why study humour and what can be learned about a culture from a study of humour? It is complex and difficult to define but is often described as something comical or amusing. Humour is an important social device for enjoying and relating to others, it acts as a way of gaining and sustaining attention, making ideas memorable and engaging them emotionally. It is also a way of entering into sensitive cultural topics and dealing with difficult social issues. Its manifestations should be of concern to anyone seeking to understand cultural perspectives or differences. We undertook this enjoyable research because it has received little scholarly attention. Moreover, it was a way of gaining insight into how Native people view life, themselves and their relationship with others.

Our task began by examining approximately 5000 artworks created by North American Native artists and then isolating images that appeared to contain elements of humour. Before including them as examples of humour, however, we found supporting evidence in the form of artist statements or information from authors who had interviewed the artists. Our method of dealing with the data included reviewing written descriptions made by artists about their work and using a content analysis to determine special qualities and categories of humour. Our intention was to represent major geographic areas of North America. There are many nations within each area but cultures within a similar region tend to have similar cultural characteristics. The scope of our research extended from the Canadian Arctic (Inuit), Alaska (Eskimo), western Canada (Cree), central and eastern Canada (Ojibway), to the southwestern United States (Pueblo and Lusieno). Tribal groups or nations representing each region are identified in brackets. These are the cultures from which specific examples of humorous art have been drawn.

Research Questions

In addressing issues of humour and the ideas of North American Native artists, a number of questions should be asked: (a) What is the role of humour in a particular culture? (b) How do artists use humour to communicate with members of their own culture and with outsiders? and (c) Are there stylistic features, formats, or media that characterize certain kinds of humour in Native art?

Categories of Humour

Visual humour is often complex and can take many forms. It is essential, therefore, to discover certain organizing principles. Initially we used Roukes' (1997) categories of visual humour as a framework, though we relied upon the data to redefine or suggest new categories. Our research revealed several distinctive categories of humour in North American Native art:

1. Whimsy can be defined as ideas related to a sense of sheer fun, amusement or enjoyment, fancifully or spontaneously derived. Allan (1967) discusses why Stephen Leacock was so effective as a writer of humour, suggesting that he saw fun in all kinds of situations and his humour seemed entirely natural and uncontrived. Sometimes whimsy is described as a less sophisticated form of humour because it seems to be natural, spontaneous and to have no other purpose than pleasure.

2. Satire may be gentle teasing or poking fun, but it can sometimes be cutting, abrasive, ridiculing or biting. Heller and Anderson (1991) comment that graphic humour, at its best, will force a laugh or a smile and also shock. They further suggest that satirical humour can be a mnemonic device involving wordplay. This may involve a playful alteration of slogans or the use of words that sound alike but have different meanings, in such a way as to play on two or more of the possible applications. The use of verbal puns as text with an artwork often simplifies complex concepts and enhances the meaning of a visual idea.

3. Narrative trickery or foolery makes use of storytelling qualities that involve characters noted for cunning, playing jokes, or improvising a comic role. Storytelling evolved in many Native cultures from the need to understand and explain the forces of nature and how people could live in harmony with the Earth and its creatures. These stories deal with important events in tribal, clan or family history, with supernatural forces, relationships between human and mythological beings, and with adventures. The important function of the story is to pass on "the knowledge of traditions, morals and mores from the old to the young, maintain social cohesion and continuity, and keep the culture alive and flourishing (Beck, 1991, p. ix). While narra-

tives involving tricksters, fools and clowns often have a strong entertainment value, they also contain lessons for living and provide spiritual guidance.

4. Parody includes mimicking, spoofing; comic representation or references to human behavior, beliefs, customs, conventions, or creations. While parallels exist between satire and parody in visual art, parody is sometimes associated with performance art. Performance artists dramatize cultural stereotypes by lampooning or "roasting" those who hold such views. Some Native artists uses parody to expose insensitivity and racial bias.

Responding to the Questions

In the selected examples of artwork that follow, a content analysis provides insight to the importance that humour assumes in particular cultures, how it is communicated, and the style and presentation that characterizes certain kinds of humour.

Whimsical Humour and Arctic Cultures

In small-scale indigenous Arctic societies, climatic conditions are harsh and continually test the will and ability of people to survive. Humour is an essential ingredient, making life more bearable and eventful. In families and community groups it is not uncommon to hear peals of laughter ring out at the smallest incident or provocation. Often the humour is raw and earthy, and on occasion it finds its way into drawings, prints, and sculptures.

At the opening of a circumpolar art exhibition in Alaska (Ingram, 1993; Steinbright and Atuk-Derrick, 1993), Native artist Alvin Amason created a brightly coloured papier mâché walrus head called "Ooh-ah, ooh-ah, ooh-ah." A spray of feathers adhered to thin rods push out of the nostrils of the walrus, representing life-giving breath and a sense of celebration. Other whimsical examples can be found in carvings depicting animals dancing and engaging in other playful human behaviors (Swinton, 1965; 1972). Another amusing example of celebration in a stonecut print by Cape Dorset artist Pootoogook (National Museum of Man, 1977), reveals the delight of the hunter displaying outstretched fingers radiating from the side of his head. The print is called "Joyfully I see ten caribou." Tudlik's stencil print (Canadian National Film Board, nd.) "Excited man forgets his weapon," describes a humorous hunting scene in which the hunter forgets his gun and pursues a polar bear with a hand extended toward the animal in a revolver-like fashion.

In Simon Tookoome's print (National Museum of Man, 1977), a funny event is recorded, that of tripping and falling. Titled "An embarrassing tumble," it shows multiple faces on the arms of a figure seated on the ground. The multiple faces may represent villagers gathering to view the incident and share in the mirth and indignity of the situation. A particularly delightful example of whimsy in Inuit artwork is a recent stonecut print (Figure 1) by Kakulu Saggiaktok (1998) from the Cape Dorset Fine Arts Collection. "Kettle" depicts a utensil commonly found in Inuit households. Everything about this teakettle is uncommon however, a stubby double-headed bird with three beaks forms the lid of the vessel while the spout is constructed from the long neck and head of another bird. To further enhance the whimsical quality of the print, two fish swim inside the container as if it were an aquarium or perhaps a lake. Roukes (1997) would call this presentation "artful absurdity" because it exploits the creative potential of contradiction and displaced logic. Zuk and Dalton (1997) would suggest that the artist has used image development strategies in imaginative ways to press our "humour buttons."

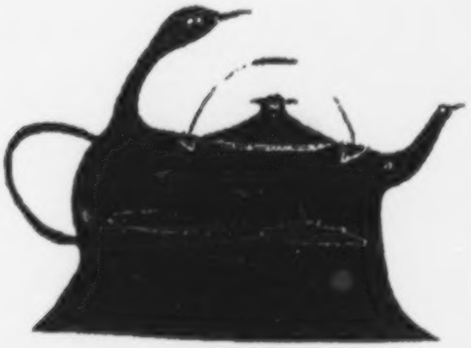

Figure 1 Kettle, by Kajulu Saggiaktok

At first glance, the playfulness of Saggiaktok's "Kettle" print may be likened to a print by Sheouak (National Museum of Man, 1977)."The pot spirits" depicts several anthropomorphized utensils dancing or running across the picture plane. However, the title of the print suggests a connection with animism, the attribution of conscious life to nature or natural objects. What initially appears to be whimsical may not be at all. Further consultation with the artist is required to make a reliable determination about the meaning of the work and whether or not humour was intended. Caution and cultural sensitivity is required so that we will learn to recognize humour and laugh with the artist.

Satirical Humour Related to Language and Culture

Language and culture sometimes influence one another. Bob Boyer's painting of a bottle cap (Campbell, 1985), contains the Lakota greeting

"How cola" meaning "hello my friend." In his painting, Boyer has presented the words in a similar format to the Pepsi-Cola logo. This teasing and double meaning of greetings associated with popular culture artifacts indicates how visual artists can create humour by extending chance connections between two languages and cultures.

The images of Gerald McMaster (Ryan, 1991) poke fun in subtle and sometimes sarcastic ways to remind us about the experiences of Native people in both Canada and the United States. One artwork called "Custer's hat size" makes reference to General Custer's inflated ego through an enormously wide brimmed hat. McMaster contends that Americans distance themselves from the General, not because he was wrong but because he lost the battle. Custer was part of a dark chapter in American history and part of a system that attempted to annihilate Native people in the United States. In another painting (Figure 2) McMaster depicts former Canadian Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald as a joker (referring to Batman and the Joker) with a printed message in the background "Trick or treaty," a reference to land rights. Clearly, the artwork urges us to explore another version of history.

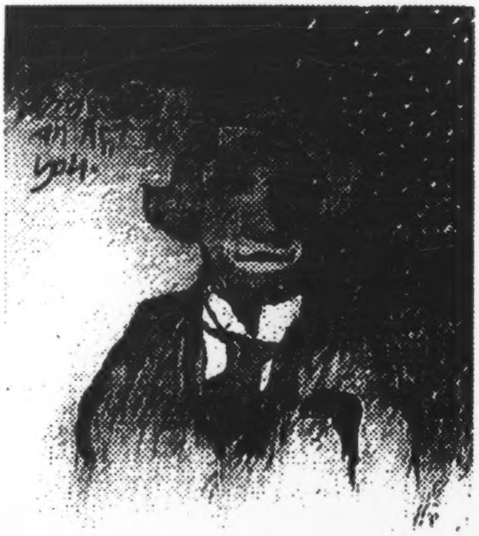

Figure 2 Trick or treaty, by Gerald McMaster

Also reminding us that there is more than one historical point of view, Ojibway artist Norval Morrisseau (Sinclair and Pollock, 1979) pokes fun at anthropology. Many anthropologists hold the view that Native people came to North America across a land bridge in the Bering Strait, but the Ojibway people believe they have always been here. Morrisseau uses visual satire in his painting to show Ojibway warriors paddling a big canoe heading for North America. In a second painting, a biting form of dark humour is used by Morrisseau. In "The gift," the white man shakes the hand of the Indian in friendship and as he does so, confers upon him the gift of smallpox. Throughout North America, large populations of Native people were decimated by smallpox and other diseases introduced by explorers, traders, and settlers. If the title of Morrisseau's work is an indication of meaning, this is a humorous but painful historical reminder of that fact.

Narrative Trickery and Foolery.

The characters of aboriginal folklore guide and inspire their listeners, helping them develop strength of character and wisdom. In the Northwest Coast cultures of British Columbia, the Raven was one of the most important creatures. He was a cultural hero, daring and cunning, the trickster, the Big Man who created the world (Stewart, 1979). He put the sun, moon and stars in the sky, fish into the sea, salmon into their rivers, and food onto the land. Though his actions were often motivated by selfishness and greed, there was often humour in the way he teased, cheated, wooed, and tricked his victims. Today, carvers, jewellers, painters, and printmakers portray Raven more often and in more ways than any other mythological creature. Ken Mowatt, a Tsimshian artist shows Raven stealing the sun (Segger, Dalton, and Zuk, 1998). The bird (Figure 3) is distinguished by a long beak with a blunt, slightly curved tip. A perfectly round sun in the form of a round face sits in the partially open beak, a reminder of the bird's heroics.

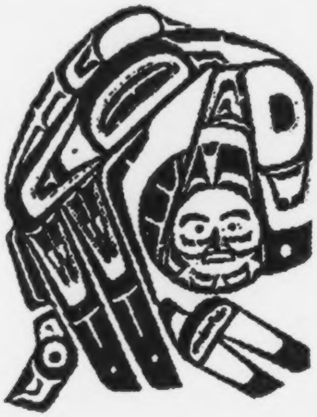

Figure 3 Raven stealing the sun, by Ken Mowatt

Tricksters and fools can also be found in other cultures. Among the Native people of the Southwestern United States, the coyote is often depicted as a foolish, laughable animal. In one portrayal (Archuleta and Strickland, 1991), Harry Fonseca, a Pueblo artist makes fun of himself in a self-portrait called "When coyote leaves the reservation." Strickland (1986) notes that Fonseca's portrayal of the coyote is highly adaptable:

> Fonseca's Coyote appears in many wonderful guises: city Coyote, and mod Coyote. In recent years, Coyote has become more at home at the pueblo and in tribal ceremonies like the ones depicted here. As Fonseca creates more and more characters, and their personalities develop, a whole new mythology of modern Indian life unfolds. The old ways and old stories, in all their richness, once more provide a way to understand the new. The Fonseca Coyotes, consistent with traditional legends, are clever folk who both outsmart and are tricked by their environment (p. 268).

In another work entitled "Rose and the res sisters," (Figure 4), Strickland further explains Fonseca's use of Coyote:

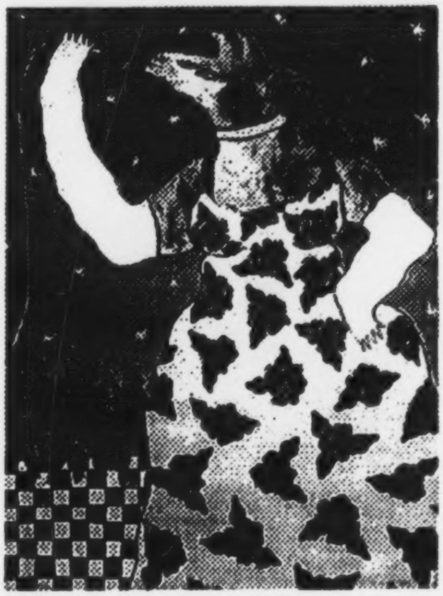

Figure 4 Rose and the res sisters, by Harry Fonseca

> The most popular and widely known of Fonseca's work is his series on Coyote characters, of which Rose is the heroine. Fonseca has been strongly influenced by the mainstream funk image and has used it to unite the Indian and the modern white world. Coyote grins, snickers, sings, dances, and cavorts in a world made suddenly absurd by his presence. In Indian mythology, Coyote is the universal trickster, armed with the cutting tongue of a fool, who becomes the mirror reflecting the world's follies (p. 284).

Parody and Performance

James Luna, a Lusieno Native from La Jolla, California is a master of spoof and mime. He uses performance art to deal with personal history and cultural stereotypes. In one installation called "The artifact piece" (Reid, 1991), a showcase in a museum setting was the focus for his presentation. Luna climbed into the horizontal case, stretched in a prone position and lay still while visitors viewed him as a museum artifact and tourist attraction. In another work "The sacred colours are everywhere" (Longman, 1997), Luna used parody to expose our beliefs about race. He participated in a group photograph representing the colour red (as in "Red Indian"), among other colours: white (European), black (African) and yellow (Asian). Luna's performances challenge our views about cultural and racial stereotypes.

Further Research and Educational Implications

This study lays a foundation for further research. It has enabled us to suggest categories of humour, ones that come from the literature and also seem to emerge from the data. As with any structures, these categories will reveal and obscure. They help to identify forms of visual humour and their purpose or meaning, but they may also make it more difficult to identify forms that lie outside or between categories. The structure serves an important purpose in helping us frame questions for further research. For example, why was it so easy to find examples of whimsy from Inuit artists and perhaps more difficult to find whimsy in the artwork of Northwest Coast artists? Does the answer lie in traditional differences between their cultures or does the highly formalized design style of Northwest Coast Native art resist the more fanciful, spontaneous aspects of whimsy? And why did our search for visual humour in artworks from the central and eastern Woodlands cultures reveal so many examples where satire was used? Does this have something to do with the nature and extent of their contact with the dominant culture or does the answer lie in their artistic traditions? Many of the artists whose work we've reviewed have formal training in contemporary Western art. Their work is created for exhibition and sale in museums and galleries beyond their traditional communities. This means that the artists are aware of their audience and this may affect their choice of subject matter and how it is presented. Are there differences between the humour in art meant for a wider audience and humour intended just for members of their own culture? We expect there is but this requires further research that relies on interviews.

Humour has an important role to play in social life and it is especially important as a means of coping with the stress of difficult experiences. Humour can also be an effective means for marginalized groups to educate others, raising awareness of their perspectives on important issues. Visual humour "sugar coats the pill," giving viewers greater incentive to be attentive and consider the point of view of the artist. The aesthetic nature of the artwork and the skilful development of the composition also help to make the artwork memorable and persuasive. This is the power of art and why it is so vital to multicultural education. Through a study of humour and cultural perspectives, students can come to understand, respect, and enjoy cultures different from their own and in the process, gain a better understanding of themselves and their own culture.

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